

The Gâthas

of

Zarathushtra (Zoroaster)

in metre and rhythm,

being

a

second edition

of the

metrical versions in the author's edition of 1892—94,

to which is added

a second edition (now in English) of the author's Latin version also of 1892—94, in the Five Zarathushtrian Gâthas, which was subventioned by His Lordship, the Secretary of State for India in Council, and also by the Trustees of the Sir J. Jejeebhoy Translation Fund of Bombay, and is now practically disposed of; (see also the literary translation in the Sacred Books of the East, XXX, pp. 1—393 (1887), itself founded by especial request upon the limited edition of 1883)

by

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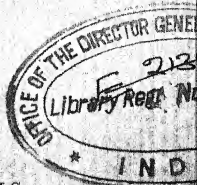
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Dedicated to the memory

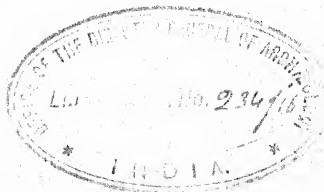
of

Bai Dinbai Nesserwanji Manockji Petit,

late of

Bombay,

a generous contributor to the endowment of the Professorship of
Zend Philology in the University of Oxford.



Preface and Introduction.

After all that I have written on this subject I will not waste many words upon a preface here. My object now is to reach a wider circle of intellectual readers, who may not, however, yet have become habituated to oriental literature.

I by no means wish to minimise the difficulties of Zoroastrian science, though I present its interior in this popular manner. The questions which arise are exceedingly numerous and the problems are severe. Some of them are also not susceptible of (a positive) solution, while the materials necessary to a critical opinion have actually never been at all attempted in any serious spirit by any person whomsoever (since Spiegel) except to the extent of the Gâthas; and the urgent requests which I have received for assistance from leading scholars have been based upon the exhaustive presentation of these materials made in my Study of them¹.

As this Preface may be read by persons who hear for the first time of the subject I give a further account of my stewardship. Aside from the more extended attempts (S. B. E. XXXI, 1887, Gâthas with Zend, Pahlavi, Sanskrit and Persian texts with Latin verbatims of the Zend, English of the Pahlavi and Sanskrit, together with Commentary 1892—94, (Dictionary now in the Press), other contributions to the subject have been very numerous, though each separate section of them has not extended beyond the

¹ See the Five Zarathushtrian Gâthas.

It is easy enough with absolutely no (enlightened) public to criticise us, to offer tentative translation where others have preceded us; but to afford really exhaustive and not fictitious results on matters never yet even properly edited is quite another thing.

dimensions of a magazine article (see Roth's Festgrüss, Yasma 28, in the sister tongue Sanskrit, Acts of the Congress of Orientalists at London in 1892, and at Paris in 1897 'The Sanskrit Equivalents of Yasma 44', (things of the utmost practical use), articles in the Zeitschrift of the German Oriental Society, in the American Journal of Philology, Journal of the American Oriental Society, of the Royal Asiatic Society, in the Critical Review, the Nineteenth Century Review, the Thinker, the Asiatic Quarterly Review, etc., etc. with dates spread over the last twelve years). But there seems to be no end to the questions involved, and masses of MSS. still remain awaiting space for printing or time for re-copying. No, I do not wish to minimise the difficulties as I am myself the chief sufferer from them.

But in the meantime, a free rendering as a temporary help is an absolute necessity if we are ever to get them (more popularly) read. Professors and leading scholars expressed themselves as pleased with my translations in the XXXIst volume of the Sacred Books of the East (1887); others however found them too roughly literal. (One of my pupils used to say that he could read the Gâthas using them almost without a lexicon). But the penalty was a somewhat uncouth diction. I cannot of course attempt to remedy that defect here; that edition was the only literary one which I could offer then; and for such a series as the Sacred Books of the East I should not even now venture on rounding off the asperities.

Notwithstanding a too little attractive exterior it was as Darmesteter wrote me (for I then dared not look myself) 'déjà cité et apprécié par tous les spécialistes' which was enough surely. And the chief fault which I find with it now is that it is at present some twelve years older than when it left its author's hand¹.

¹ It was the report of a good bit of a lifetime's labour. (I apologise for much of the personal tone here; it has been elicited by the ingratitude of a pupil, and of some so-called old friends who are greatly in my debt).

It was one of the most exhaustively 'prepared' books that ever left a press; see its preface and that of the Gâthas 1892-1894. The present attempt is a mere second edition of the metrical version which appeared opposite the Latin word-for-word's in those Five Zarathushtrian Gâthas, (which are now practically all disposed of¹). But as before, I by no means allow the free metrical to go out unguarded by a word-for-word. Even disinterested friends may in all good faith wish to know whether these striking thoughts² in the metrical can be justified by the actual words of their original, and they will see that I have done all that I could do to satisfy them. And on the other hand the usual groups of mendacious malignants will find it more difficult to mislead the public. If the word-for-word's are given here as well as in the Five Zarathushtrian Gâthas no one can assail the freedom.

Departing from custom, I put this verbatim now into English, translating and modifying it from my Latin in the larger book³. Readers in India are more familiar with Sanskrit than with Latin and with English than with either; here they can read the actual terms with extensions and comments separated by brackets. I think the subject is worth the trouble which I have bestowed upon it. Said the Rev. James Hope Moulton, in the Critical Review: 'The Gâthas or Hymns of Zoroaster are by far the most precious relic which we possess of oriental religion, the only sacred literature which in dignity, in profoundness, in purity of thought and absolute freedom from unworthy conceptions of the divine could for a moment be compared with the Hebrew scriptures' (jan. '96).

¹ I am generously offered another subvention from the British Government toward a second edition.

² Most striking in view of their age and circumstances.

³ It is therefore practically a new edition of that rendering, but I could hardly repeat here all the rich alternatives there presented, which together with those in the Commentary (pp. 393—622 and the Dictionary still in press) include pretty nearly all conceivable opinions and possibilities.

Mr. Gladstone also mentioned in a private letter of October '91: 'I am sensible of the extraordinary interest attaching to Zoroastrianism, and grateful to those who . . . afford us such help in understanding it'. With regard to my critical editions, see below, note I, page IX. It is to be hoped that the public which I am endeavouring now to teach will not need to be informed that the rare value of these hymns arises from their importance in the history of thought and sentiment.

If these pieces were indeed written yesterday they could not be considered contemptible, but they are to be valued chiefly for their rarity as the expression of religious sentiments at their early date, (as to which see S. B. E. XXXI, Introduction p. XXXIII—VII), and as a specimen of the force of human thought in its influence upon the then coming future.

If we have any respect for the religious ideas of the world and their growth, here are some of their mothers. Not that our own personal feelings are direct descendants from the sentiments expressed in these immortal fragments, but that they are most certainly the descendants of ideas that were cognate to them.

It is needless to say more to those whom I hope will read this book. To the multitude who could mention the inferiority of these pieces to modern productions, I have nothing whatever to say (*turpe pecus*), except perhaps that there is a very large mass of modern anthology of which what they affirm could by no means be maintained.

With regard to the other works I would add one word as to the matter of their dates for those who are not in the 'swim of it'. I would recall that they were begun so long ago as even 1881 when I had already tentatively printed some 390 odd pages of my Gâthas (all the texts Zend, Pahlavi, Sanskrit and Persian with translation of the first three). These were imperatively demanded of me by the Pythagoras of Aryan orientalism, the sage of Tuebingen whose 'ipse dixit' could make or unmake a reputation.

Having put them into the hands of this most formidable of personalities, I gave them to the others, and in fact this led to the urgent invitation from Darmesteter to become his continuator on the Sacred Books of the East, which also put in train my connection with this University (Oxford). So, some years afterward, when the first sections of the Gâthas were ready, at the urgent request of some of my leading colleagues, I sent them copies, receiving grateful acknowledgments from them in private communications¹.

The various expressions of opinion referred to were important enough to me at one period, for there was as usual a clique of mendacious pretenders (of a known type) who had control of some of the newspapers. And as to one particular they are important to me now, for they show that I have worked in a catholic spirit. Those distinguished gentlemen who have expressed themselves with much toleration of my well-meant labours belong to *various schools*. They prove by their sympathy that they do not regard my results as *one-sided*². To my sorrow I must confess that I have spent more time and labour on this subject and its adjuncts than any one now living, or I might almost say than any one without the qualification; and on the whole with greater facilities. The XXXIst volume of the Sacred Books of the East was made after the only exhaustive effort ever even attempted by any one, for I had edited the Asiatic Commentaries, Pahlavi, with all the known MSS. collated, the Sanskrit with five MSS, and the Persian, and made the first attempt ever made by any one at a full

¹ See Darmesteter's remarks even on the interrupted edition and so early as Nov. 26th 1883 in the *Revue Critique*, also another eminent person in the *London Athenaeum* April 12th 1884, the *Academy* of September 13th 1884 (long enough ago!), the *Deutsche literaturzeitung* September 24, 1887, of *S. B. E.* XXXI; then again of the fuller edition of the Gâthas the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* of May 1893, *Revue Critique* of September 1893, etc. Pischel in *Z. D. M. G.* 1896 etc. It is usual in issuing circulars for the purpose of promoting the sale of a book to cite various notices from reviews. But I allude to them here for a particular reason.

² Well may they hold to this, for I report almost every conceivable opinion ancient or modern, while I distinctly express my own preference.

critical explanation of any of them in any of their parts (since Spiegel). I now desire to make the results of these exertions as accessible to the general public as may be.

One very singular and most delicate duty meets me, just here. No one indeed but a very ill-informed person would expect any two independent translators to agree *in toto* in their renderings of the Gáthas, or of any other ancient compositions¹ of a difficult nature; but there is one modern translation which differs from all others by such marked peculiarities that it is quite necessary to pause for a moment upon it. It is none other than the French translation of the Gáthas in the work of my own colleague, the late Professor James Darmesteter. I will first premise what I have to say by the remark which may sound strange enough, but to which I would entreat uninitiated readers to give their closest attention. Among the higher circles of criticism, strange and reprehensible as it may at first sight² appear, specialists in orientalism, as well as in other branches of research, do not value works chiefly on account of their practical accuracy as books for ordinary use. It is far too readily supposed that both the investigators and those who confide in them are already familiar with all that has been edited on the subject, so that vagaries and eccentricities on the part of any well-meaning expounder will not do so much harm, while their hazardous and even sometimes wild conjectures at least stir up discussion. This well known fact may be even found printed. 'What helps' is valued, curiously enough, not on account of its correctness³ but on account

¹ Witness the chaos in critical (?) opinions even on the Old Testament Scriptures (on the one side) and upon Homer (on the other), while with one sole exception opinions on the Gáthas are drawing closer together, and may well be comprehended within easily found alternatives.

² And also at 'second' sight; it is in my opinion an indictment against the learning of the epoch that it treats all non-specialists as if they were children, but scandalous as it may seem, it is, for the present, still the fact.

³ But why can we not keep our hazardous suggestions for our notes? Must we forever assume an air of bigoted conviction while we suggest innovations which we hardly believe ourselves? I, for one, have guarded mine (which are often as bold as anybody's) by distinct remarks; see *Zeitschrift der d. morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Oct. 1898, p. 486.

of its stirring qualities, its *regsamkeit*; and sometimes an author who has manifested the most of that, will really produce work which may be positively mischievous in the hands of an ordinary reader. Such was the case with the gifted Haug, for some of his translations as such are hardly fit to use at present. Now and then even our very great and endeared Roth would say things in translation which looked as if he were fully aware that they could not be correct, and such, as to the Gâthas at least, was obviously the case with Darmesteter. Full as everywhere with brilliant suggestions taken from the Asiatic Commentaries, and therefore of great value to experts with correcter renderings before them, he seems almost to have translated at times without looking at anything beyond the Pahlavi, Sanskrit and Persian renderings. What has been so often asserted in criticisms cannot be denied; he seems to disregard the grammatical forms in a manner for which I can only account by supposing that the overwork as a popular writer of which he so much complained, at times actually blunted his faculties¹.

But let us look at the results. This extraordinary procedure of Darmesteter's did, and is still doing its work, together with his sudden acceptance of a most unfortunate surmise that the Gâthas were contemporaneous with Christ (circa)². He has roused us all up to new exertions, to save the confidence of the public. With the result that some of us,

¹ A certain scholar, possibly stung at Darmester's previous criticisms, goes so far as to say (so I have heard) that his version in French of the Gâthas is 'no translation at all'. I have not read this criticism, as I did not wish to give myself unnecessary pain, but that Darmesteter in treating the Gâthas in his French version was regardless of the Gâthic text as well as of the grammatical forms to a very extraordinary degree cannot be denied at all, and it would be a very false friendship to ignore or to garble the fact; and also the other fact that he follows 'tradition' in a manner which makes us really doubt whether it be not true that he once told a prominent pupil that 'the Avesta texts (some of them) were written after their supposed translations, and were based upon them' — a characteristically brilliant idea.

² I am deeply gratified to be able to point out that this was no original opinion of his; see his statements on the subject in the Preface to his Yasna. They were adopted from a gifted friend who, however, has never published any extended or exhaustive treatise on the Avesta.

and among others, I for one, have gone elaborately into the question of the relations existing between Zoroastrian theologies, or theological philosophies, with the Jewish and the Greek. To be sure it is to be regretted that he should have given occasion to persons who dislike to see a school progress, and enabled them to note its divisions; but even these may be met by the unanimous verdict of all persons and some of them the most devoted to Darmesteter. Nobody anywhere who has ever produced any extended or influential original work on the Avesta of any school, left, right or middle, has any regard whatever for the theories which Darmesteter at last so strangely adopted as to the age of the Avesta, eating his own previous weighty and brilliant words.

In the Introduction to the Vendidad first edition pp. liii, liv, he wrote 'it is quite possible that Herodotus may have heard the Magi sing in the fifth century B. C. *the very same Gâthas which are sung now-a-days by the Mobeds in Bombay* . . . One might feel inclined at first sight to assign to a very recent date, perhaps to the last revision of the Avesta, those long enumerations of gods so symmetrically elaborated in the Yasna, Vispêrad and Vendidad. But the account of Mazdeism given by Plutarch shows that the work of co-ordination was already terminated at the end of the Achæmenian period and *there is no part of the Avesta which so far as matter is concerned, may not have been written in those times*¹. Nay, the Greek accounts of that period present us in some measure with a *later stage of thought*, and they are pervaded with a stronger sense of symmetry . . . The theory of time and space as first principles of the world, of which only the germs are found in the Avesta was fully developed in the time of Eudemos, a disciple of Aristotle'.

So Darmesteter in 1880 when he expected to finish the subject of the Avesta for the S.B.E. In his first edition he gave no indication of his future tergiversation. Nor did he give me any idea of his change of views at the date of

¹ The italics are mine.

his request for me to take up his unfinished work. And it is hard to resist the impression that the difficulties which he had previously found in the Gâthas¹ turned his interest into a dislike. But that he made his interesting and piquant version of the Gâthas in no bigoted spirit is certain from the language of his invitation to me.

He had before his eyes these very renderings which I am offering now, then in their first shape, which was however in 1883 in many essential respects the same as these which I am repeating now; and in spite of the fact that they differed in cast from what he himself even then would have written, he urged me to reproduce them in the version for the Sacred Books of the East (vol. XXXI), which he was entreating me to write: "vous n'avez qu'à détacher de votre travail (my Gâthas in their originally printed form) la traduction rythmique avec quelques notes explicatives et le mot à mot (Latin) quand vous ... (?) en écarterez trop. Cela vous prendrait infiniment peu de temps puisque le travail est déjà fait Je crois que la chose serait bonne et pour vous et pour la collection parce qu'elle aurait la version des Gâthas la plus au courant possible Je le désire du fond du coeur; car à défaut de vous je ne vois pas qui pourrait faire la chose et la faire bien Dans l'espoir d'une réponse favorable,

Je suis,

Votre bien dévoué

James Darmesteter²

I reciprocate my greatly distinguished friend's most generous confidence. As he most certainly would even then have differed from the very versions which he at the same moment was honouring in such an extraordinary manner, so

¹ See 'his preface to the Yasna', 'he shrank', he says, 'from the enigma.

² This citation may serve as a correction to the remarks which appeared in the Revue Bleue of Paris February 1895, and also in the Annuaire of the University of that year, which left the extraordinary impression that I suggested!! the arrangement 'avec cet oubli de soi qui caractérise le vrai mérite ... il céda à M. Mills l'honneur d'achever la publication', etc.

I would with equal emphasis call attention to the great value of all his suggestions in the light of higher studies, even if I must except his French version from the list of profitable *popular* renderings. Its value is wholly *interior*, and ordinary readers who regard it as a complete report for the learned, but still not professional public, will be led astray. Surely it is enough for a great scholar to influence an entire school.

With regard to the view which he reports, again deriving it from a French friend¹, that Vohu Manah was Philo's Logos, I would say briefly that Vohu Manah as Vasumanas, the name of a Vedic Rishi, shows that the idea was as familiar to India as Asha, Khshathra, Âramaiti, etc. were. These are all found in the Rig Veda, though somewhat scattered, and are all² very old. Their forms were Ritā, Vasumanas, Kshatrā, Arāmati, Sārvatāti and Amṛitatvā.

If the Logos has any analagon in the Avesta it is Asha, and not Vohu Manah³. But if Philo invented either he must have invented the Veda as well, for the reasons given. Moreover the concept of the Logos is radically heterogeneous from that of Vohu Manah. The Logos of Heraclitus, hardly recognisable in Plato⁴, was further perverted by Philo into an intermediary between God and matter, which latter was regarded as evil, an idea radically opposed to the Gāthas, according to which God created nature animate and inanimate.

It had absolutely nothing fundamentally to do with the Vohu Manah or Asha of the Gāthas. Some of the detail in its treatment may, however, have been coloured by the Zoroastrian theology which leaked through the Hebrew literature till the time of Philo.

¹ So reported to me by the gentleman himself (this friend, not Darmesteter).

² Except the actual form of *vasumanas*; the name is genuine but later vedic in the Rik.

³ Vohu Manah came to the front from a mistake in the traditional exegesis as to Y. 28, 2 or 3; see my Gāthas at the places.

⁴ Plato was once a close hearer (at Athens) of Cratylus the pupil of Heraclitus; cp. Arist. Metaph. 1, 6.

As I hope to publish before long an extended statement of the reasons for believing the Gâthas to be old, (i. e. to date several centuries before Christ), I add only a summary of the points, gathering up what I have said on various occasions¹.

First, the Gâthas are *original*, meaning by the term that they show evidence of having been composed by persons who expressed in them genuine feelings called into play by actual and contemporaneous events. The reasons for believing this are, first, their excessive personality, second, the depth and fervid character of the convictions, desires, hopes, fears and aversions expressed in them. (a) These emotions reflect passing events, some of which are incidentally mentioned. (b) These events are totally unlike any fictitious occurrences such as are reflected in the later Avesta, as they depict long and tedious struggles and are often painful in their detail. (c) No reliance whatsoever is placed by me on any *statements* which occur in the Gâthas as such. All conscious *statements* would be as worthless for literal proofs as the general run of historical statements are. But statements which occur in the course of the delineation depict in passing and *without intention* the state of the facts, as for instances the names of the chiefs, the prevailing warfare, etc.

It being conceded that the Gâthas are personal, they must have been composed at least 700 to 1200 years B. C., for all their colouring and the vital chord of their existence is associated with the Rig Veda, the Amshaspends themselves being old ante-vedic ideas, (see above), and the language, even to the names, being in its ancient shape. Their forgery at the time of Christ is simply a ridiculous propo-

¹ See the Introduction to the XXXIst volume of the Sacred Books of the East. I have been invited by the Trustees of the Sir J. Jejeebhoy Translation Fund of Bombay to write an exhaustive treatise on the 'Antiquity of the Avesta'. This work is now in manuscript, and I hope soon to print it. It has brought me back to familiar reading which first drew my attention to the Avesta, and I have had an interval of rare gratification in reopening my old inquiries begun with fervour more than a quarter of a century ago.

sition, as it would have been a literary miracle (requiring a subtle hand in a blasé age). That they were genuine and still written in Iran at the time of Christ scarcely needs an answer. These vivid supplications (in the first personal) and wrangling strophes could not possibly have been genuinely produced at the time of Christ in Iran where the language had been Pahlavi for centuries, even to the proper names. No priestly schools could have so preserved the Zend as that persons could have written the fresh and passionate Gâthas in its forms at that time. The later Sanskrit literature was composed in the dead language, but none of it corresponds closely to the Gâthas, and it was a 'dead' language which had an immense extant literature surviving in it and continually increasing. It was no more 'dead' to the later periods than Latin was 'dead' among the schools of the mediaeval Church.

In Zend there is nothing but the Avesta^{**}, in Sanskrit there is a great literature which was possibly more extensive at the time of Christ than now. Parts of the later Avesta, as I stated in my Introduction to S.B.E. XXXI, might have been written yesterday, but only parts, and the later Avesta is not the animated Gâtha, with its constant address to the Deity in the second personal.

This leads me to another important matter. Nothing seems to me so silly as the discussion about the *historical personality* of Zarathushtra. The absence of all care which characterises statements with regard to Zoroastrianism makes it almost a hopeless task to make distinctions. *Of course* Zarathushtra in many later documents of Zoroastrianism is a mythical person as to the characteristics attributed to him, including his so-called history¹. He is a mythical demi-god even in the Avesta itself, that is to say in the genuine but later Avesta. In fact Zarathushtra is superhuman every-

¹ And he appears in a list of Perso-Babylonian Kings, as reported by Berosus (so cited long since by Haug and others, though without reference; I am now also at this moment of writing accidentally separated from documents).

where, both in the later Zoroastrianism, which corresponds to the mediaeval period when viewing Christianity, and in the very oldest parts of the New Avesta.

Of the Zarathushtra as *disclosed* in the *Gâthas alone* can it be said that he is an historical person¹; but what a person! As Professor Cheyne has justly remarked, his public was higher in tone than that appealed to in the majority of the Psalms².

Let these self-obvious distinctions be borne clearly in mind (if it be possible that any distinction can be so held in mind while considering this subject, so doomed to misconception); Zarathushtra is a *living person solely in these original strophes*. Like the heroes of early Greece he is divine in different degrees in all the remaining Avesta. To sum up in the briefest manner what I have now said here, the Hymns are ancient because they are closely allied to the ancient Indian Vedas, evident signs of contact between Ahura-worshippers and Daêva-worshippers abounding in both the Old and the New Avesta. There is no direct historical connection whatsoever between either Vohu Manah or Asha and the platonic-philonian Logos because Vohu Manah (with Asha and the rest) belonged to the Vedas as well as to the Avesta under the modified names cited (see above) *hundreds of years before the Philonian Logos was thought of*.

These rough poems in metres³ identical with Vedic

¹ I do not say that he is here the *same* person who is so often alluded to in so-called history and in acknowledged myth; we even have the name among a list of ancient kings (see p. XVI); and of course it must have been often reproduced, for it became, at least in the Avesta itself, one of the titles of a Governor of a province and is even used in the superlative form 'the most Zarathushtra'. We do however claim that the fictitious importance attributed to all the Zarathushtras scattered up and down the pre-christian ages, was borrowed from the singular man whose personality, together with that of his colleagues, is so strikingly revealed in these early pieces.

² See the Origin of the Psalter, also his, article in answer to Mr. Gladstone in the Nineteenth Century Review of Dec. '91.

³ Do people remember that the ancestors of the Aryan-indians were once identical with the ancestors of the man or men who wrote the Gâthas, and that the territory on which these hymns were first sung was approximately the same as that on which the ancestors of

ones, are the genuine expression of men deeply moved by a religious crisis in some country in contact with ancient India. What we now call Afghanistan may have been pretty nearly the scene, though some think it more likely to have been further West.

To say a single word on a subordinate but by no means unimportant item. Some attempt at a metrical version is needed to give an idea of the original rhythm of the pieces, but of course only an approximate idea, none other can be obtained.

I have certainly toned up the strings, and used both addition and omission, as is universal in such reproductions. It is impossible, or unprofitable, to represent metrical matter in a tongue foreign to its original without this. And without some attempt at the representation of the metrical matter we lose even more than aesthetic effect; some reproduction of the rhythm is needed to express the emotional sentiment as well; for this is, as always, dependent to some extent upon the melody of the verse; and even the moral tone is sometimes aided by it. But my chief motive is facility.

I find in my own case that I can get a bird's eye view of a subject most rapidly and easily from a metrical version; and I suppose that the same may be the case with others; only (let me emphatically repeat it), *I disavow all responsibility for the literal terms of the metrical version, except when read together with the word-for-word.*

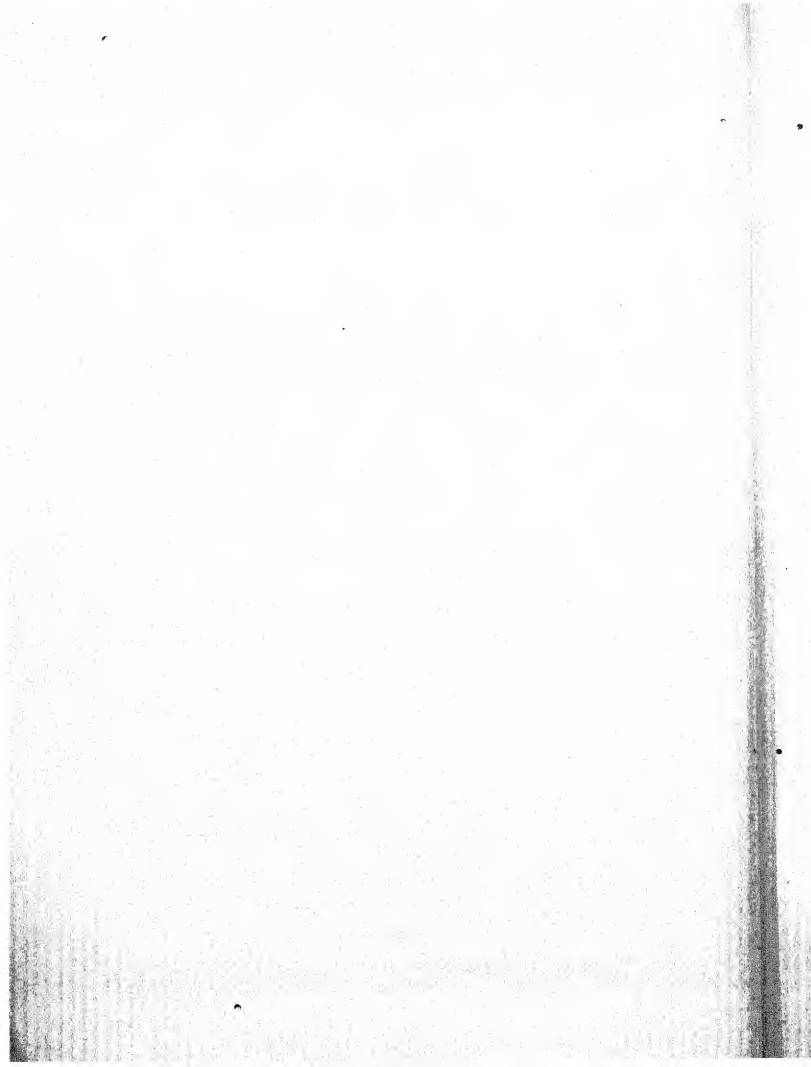
Indian Rishis once lived before their descendants migrated, and that the finest metre in the Gāthas is practically the same as the Indian trishtubh (or rather that the Indian trishtubh is certainly the mere reproduction of immensely older Iranian metres used when Indians and Iranians were one people, or more properly speaking, before any Indians existed)?

Oxford, Feb. 1900.

Lawrence Mills.

PS. Readers of the Sacred Books of the East may notice that several of the introductory summaries to the chapters in this work are condensed from the corresponding summaries in the XXXIst volume of the S.B.E., of which I am the author. I take this opportunity to express my indebtedness to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, and also to the Right Honourable Max Müller, the Editor of the Series, for their courtesy in according me this privilege. This book in no sense interferes with that literary rendering which is addressed to a different public. The intelligent reader will not need to be reminded that in dealing with subjects of this kind an author makes an especial effort to re-cast former presentations in the light of fresh discoveries. It should never be forgotten that no changes in wording can alter that which we most value in these hymns, which is their moral and religious-philosophical tone; and this is wholly unique in view of their age and circumstances.

L. H. M.



YASNA XLIII.

preliminary

Benedictions are uttered with regard to an eminent leader who opens the paths to temporal and eternal welfare; — the majesty of Ahura as final Judge is considered; — searching questions are asked and ennobling prayers uttered.

I place this valuable piece in this position because it seems to me to answer the purpose of a prologue or symphony, giving a certain survey of the gâthic situation. As in every section it is possible that strophes may have fallen out here and there, and some may have been inserted, not necessarily from another composer but from other compositions; or more properly, the constituent parts of this piece may have been originally composed at different times with intervals of a few years between. After certain limits however marked signs of connection are present; after the first three strophes, which are quite apart, then from the fourth and fifth on every alternate stanza has the formula 'I conceived of thee as bountiful, O Ahura Mazda'.

It would indeed present no difficulty to a successor to add these words to stanzas otherwise also imitated; but there is no particular reason why we should think of a second hand; the whole composition as it is here produced, or reproduced, beats with the life of a single personality; and even if collected from fragments of the composer's earlier works, the course of thought does not so fail in logical sequence as that it is either impossible or displeasing as a whole in a poetical composition. Strophes 1—3 are admirable as preliminary; and they may having been placed here by the composer or his successors, he, or they, having taken them from some other one of his compositions. Strophes 4—6 with their lofty descriptions of power and benevolence in the Deity prepare

the way well, with their allusions to the final judgment, for the closer reflections in strophes 7—13 upon the prophet's call, uttered at the instigation of the 'obedient will' as inspiring some loyal representative of the acquiescing element in the population of friends, foes and the indifferent. Strophe 16 is a noble stanza looking to a critical eye much like a later addition by the composer himself, as he cast his mind's eye over this and other works in view of the entire course of the connected events. (I insert the digest and paraphrase of the whole after the metrical version; the above remarks should leave us absolutely free to enjoy a rare personal fragment, rewritten in approximate imitation of its original rhythm).



YASNA XLIII.

Greeting to an expected champion.

Salvation's hail be his, whosoe'er he may be¹:
 May the all-ruling send it, He supreme o'er² strife.²
 Long lasting strength be ours; of Thee I ask it;
 For the upholding Right,³ this, holy zeal,⁴ vouchsafe us,
 Rich power,⁵ blest rewards, the Good Mind's life!

And for this saint that best of all things,
 Glory,⁶ the glorious one⁷ shall gain⁸ who² may.²
 Reveal Thou, Lord, to us with spirit bounteous⁹
 What truths by right³ Thou givest with good¹⁰ mind's¹⁰ wisdom
 With life's rejoicing increase and on every day.

Yes, that better than the good¹¹ may he gain¹² surer¹²
 Who hath for us straight paths of grace explored¹³,
 Of this life bodily the use, of that the mental
 In the eternal¹⁴ Realms where dwells Ahura,
 Like¹⁵ Thee,¹⁵ noble and august, O Mazda Lord!

¹ hardly 'to everyone'; 'to us' would be bad grammar; see my *Gáthas*, pp. 154, 509—522; some preceding verses have evidently been lost; for introduction, see S. B. E. xxxi., pp. 91 to 106.

² words added from other gáthic places to complete the rhythm.

³ asha, the holy order of the law.

⁴ aramaiti, the 'alert' or 'ready' mind; but possibly meaning the alert and holy public enthusiasm in the tribes and in himself.

⁵ if 'riches' were meant, then they were consecrated offerings for 'the holy Cause,' see Y. 46, 2, etc.

⁶ 'glorious beatitude,' 'god-sent welfare.'

⁷ the Deity, in frequently recurring passages is called the 'glorious,' in the later Avesta.

⁸ cf. Comm., p. 510.

⁹ others render 'holy'; the above is safer; yet it must be remembered that gáthic holiness was practical; the one who 'bountifully increased' good things was 'holier' than the talker or the ritualist.

¹⁰ so, literally, but, as so often in the use of these impressive abstracts, meaning 'the orthodox saint inspired by the good mind,' the first, or more properly, the second Ameshaspend.

¹¹ the 'summum bonum.'

¹² so rhythmically, for 'attain to.'

¹³ literally 'given.'

¹⁴ so for 'safety,' literally the 'real,' 'really existing.'

¹⁵ an oblique way of saying 'Thee', or perhaps meaning the saint of line *a*, 'like Thee,' 'Thy servant,' 'worthy of Thee.'

means of grace

Yea, I conceive Thee mighty, Ahura Mazda,
When aids Thine hand hath nurtured close¹ appear¹,
Aids which as rewards Thou'lt give for good or evil,
Thy Fire's flame therewith, the strong in justice,
And when to me Thy Good Mind's strength draws near.

judgment

So,² in creation's birth when first I saw³ Thee
Bounteous² in vision⁴ later⁴ things portend,⁴
When deeds, most just, rewarding and words Thou givest
Ill to the evil, pure blessing to the good
By Thy just wisdom⁴ in this world's last end;

advent

In which last changing Thou a spirit bounteous⁶
Comest with Thy pure Realm which wrong⁴ retrieves⁴,
By deeds of whom the settlements in Right⁷ are furthered;
Laws unto these to teach devotion⁸ striveth,
Laws of Thy wisdom which no man deceives!

suspense

Yea, I conceived Thee bounteous, Ahura Mazda,
When the true-hearted searched⁹ my spirit's⁹ inner self⁹
Asking 'who art thou then?', and whence thy coming?
How for their questions now signs shall I show them,
Signs in thy settlements and in thyself?

¹ rhythmically supplied from line c.

² the recurring formula 'yea, I conceived . . .' shortened for space.

³ retrospective; cf. the vision of creation in Genesis.

⁴ rhythmically supplied to fill out the sense.

⁵ literally, 'Thy good manhood' or 'honour,' but later use renders the above idea more probable.

⁶ see note above on 'bounteous,' strophe 2nd, line c.

⁷ asha, the sanctity of the law inspiring the holy communities.

⁸ the prophet especially inspired with aramaiti, the 'alert' or 'ready mind.'

⁹ to point the sense; 'when inspired by Thy Good Mind the questioner approached me.' see the word-for-word below.

the signs

To him I, Zarathushtra, then answered foremost:
 'Torments in very deed the faithless will I send,
 But to our saints would be a joyous power',
 Since with full care I toil, Thy Realm awaiting¹
 While I my woven² praise² to Thee shall blend.

Yea, I conceive Thee bounteous, Ahura Mazda,
 When the true loyal came, my mission's³ call to ask³,
 Saying 'what aim hast thou? what wilt thou gain in this?'
 Then for Thy Fire praise-offering I besought him,
 Planning Thy Law's advance³; this be my task³!

'search me'

Do Thou Thy Holiness revealing teach me,
 Since with the zealous⁴ joined to rise⁴ I seek.⁴
 Ask Thou yet questions, such that Thou⁵ may'st⁵ search⁵ us,
 For questions Thine are thus as of the mighty,
 As when their mighty wish Thy rulers speak.

'prepared'

Yea, I conceived Thee bounteous, Ahura Mazda,
 When the true Loyal came with spirit⁶ blest⁶,
 And with your words my soul I first instructed;
 Woes that devoted one⁷ 'midst foes forewarned me,
 Yet will I that fulfil named by Thee best!

¹ rhythmically supplied to fill out the sense.

² see the word-for-word.

³ rhythmical and explanatory, see the word-for-word.

⁴ see the word-for-word.

⁵ literally, 'that we may be asked of Thee'; or it may mean, 'ask Thou the questions which are to be asked by us'; 'inspire our prayers': see the word for word and Comm., p. 517.

⁶ 'with the Good Mind' (for 'good-minded one'), the orthodox, holy and 'well-affected' citizen inspired by the good mind.

⁷ so more safely, but the original will bear the finer sense 'my heart's devotion,' so, perhaps even more literally.

fears

And since Thou saidest: 'Come for light to Asha',
Command me not yet to speak 'veiled truths abroad',
Nor to go forth, e'er he, that friend approach me,
Obedience¹ hand-joined with richest blessing²
Whereby, for strivers'³ help, he gives reward.

success

Yea, I conceived Thee bounteous,⁴ Ahura Mazda,
When the Faith's messenger⁵ my spirit neared;
Aims of my will to gain, this gift then give me
Long life, that boon by man | yet never wrested,
Gifts in Thy Realm give too, most choice⁶ declared.

light

As the possessor gifts on friend bestows
So give to me, O Lord, rejoicing⁷ light⁷,
When in Thy kingdom, righteousness my motive,
Forth to approach I rise 'mid chiefs of doctrine,
With all whose memories Thy words recite.

staunchness

Yea, I conceived Thee bounteous, Ahura Mazda,
When the obedient came with Faith's accord⁸,
And through his wisdom best with patience showed me,
'Never your chieftain be of foes the pleaser':
Yea, saints should hold at worth yon faithless horde!

¹ the loyal messenger from the tribes; see above.

² the splendour of consecrated riches(?). The analogous Vedic word is supposed to mean 'riches'; the Iranian may have both meanings.

³ see Commentary, p. 518.

⁴ see note above, on 'bounteous'.

⁵ explanatory; see above.

⁶ literally, 'the best' which might pass also as rhythmical.

⁷ grace-giving instruction, etymologically 'ravishing,' but this would be exaggerated.

⁸ varied for rhythm; see the word-for-word.

result

Thus Zarathushtra, Lord, adores the spirit,
And every man most bounteous prays beside;
Be the just Law life-strong, yea, clothed with body;¹
In sun-blest land of ours be there Devotion,
In deeds to Holy Right may she be guide!

¹ incarnate in the faithful.



Y. 43. Literal translation with paraphrase. (In speaking of the substantial agreement among experts as to the literal wording of the Gâthas, I exclude the views of extreme traditionalists and those of any writer who translates without considering the force of the grammatical forms). It would be quite trivial to refrain from explanatory words and phrases, but they are carefully included within brackets. 'In-the-wished-for-blessing [be he (an idiomatic expression; such as 'hail to him'; 'hosanna to him'); for our guiding deliverer let it be so said], in-the-wished-for-blessing [be he]; for [the faithful man], whosoever [he may be, let it be said]; (b) may Ahura Mazda, the-one-ruling-at-his-will grant (c) the two-abiding mighty-ones [healthful-weal and deathlessness]; let-it thus-come [or 'happen'; (or the word may mean merely 'verily', and 'let it thus happen' would then be superfluous)], of Thee I desire it (d) for-the-maintaining asha [the law in the holy state]; this may'st-Thou-grant me, O-one-endowed-with-alert-and-ready-attention (O Aramaiti), (e) [consecrated] riches [or 'distinctions'] blest-rewards, the life of-the-good-mind (so literally, but perhaps meaning 'the life of the good man', 'of the one-endowed with a good mind')'. Such possible differences in the cast of translations as might be offered here are of trifling importance to comparative religion; the literal meanings, save as to one unimportant word, are not contested; 'there is one word however which may mean either to him' (our deliverer), or 'to us', but the beatitude has reference to both 'him' or 'us' in sympathy with the fervent enthusiasm for the holy Cause.

2. 'Yea for him* (or possibly 'for us(?)') may the beatified man obtain the best of all [things], (b) the beatific-glory [in the holy commonwealth], [or simply 'may he give it... to us', or 'to this one', referring to a typical representative of the people]; (c) With-Thy most-beneficent (others 'with Thy holiest') spirit reveal*, O-Mazda, (d) the-mysteries-of-wisdom which Thou dost-maintain through the-sanctity-of-Thy-ritual-and-moral-law [= simply ashâ] (e) for-the-blest-prosperity of-a-long-life on-every-day'. There is one difference in opinion here which is rather awkward; instead of 'reveal'; some prefer 'perceive' 'recognise what is already known'.

3. 'Yea, let this man himself approach* that which is the better than-the-good (b) who may-teach us [that is to say, 'indicate to us'] straight paths of-profit, (c) of this bodily life and of-the-mental, (d) in-those-eternal [or 'real']-worlds where dwells Ahura, (e) a-generous-helper, Thine-own ['worthy of' or 'like-Thee', lit. 'provided with Thee (sic)'], the beneficent-good-citizen [or 'noble-one'], O-Mazda'. No differences in opinion can alter this deeply impressive stanza; all is clear.

4. 'Yea, I would regard Thee as powerful and beneficent [others more boldly as 'holy'], O-Ahura-Mazda, (b) when those succours, which Thou dost-cherish [aids as] with-hand- [put forth, come upon me (see the last line), (c) those rewards (or 'holy regulations of justice')] for-the-evil and for-the-holy, [that is to say 'for the true Zoroastrian' and 'for the infidel enemy'], (d) together with-the-flaming-heat of-Thy-fire mighty through asha [the-sacred-ness-of-the-ritual-service (and through the honest fidelity of the true believer*)], (e) and when to me the strength of the good mind shall-come'.

Such is the fine sentiment which lies in the literal terms as they stand; but to be critical, we must endeavour to lower it to the level of the commonplace, and in our first explanation err, if at all, on the side of safety. 'The strength of the good mind', as we learn from other places *may* have been intended to convey only the more realistic idea of 'the spiritual strength of the good-minded man', although nothing whatsoever in the original indicates this, but quite the contrary; and, as I contend, even if the 'good-mind' is intended to convey the idea of 'the good-minded man', the loyal, or 'well-affected' citizen, still the deeply interesting meaning conveyed by the literal force of the words cannot be excluded as a sort of echo, or after-thought at the least. While various shades of difference may be noticed in opinions as to this passage, they are not such as affect our views in the present discussion; the terms are all absolutely simple; (I again do not take into consideration the views of any writer who disregards the laws of grammar, or follows the traditional exegesis in a slavish manner).

5. 'Yea, bounteous [-in-Thy-holiness (so, to meet the views of those who render 'holy')] I-thought Thee, Ahura-Mazda, (b) when I-saw Thee first in-the-generation of-the-world, (c) when Thou did'st-render [or 'make'] actions provided-with-rewards [by esta-

blishing the universal laws which were to govern the thus newly generated world*], (d) evil to the evil, a good blest-recompense to the good, (e) by Thy good-virtue [so, originally and literally 'good-manhood' (sic), but perhaps 'by Thy good intelligence'] in the last turning (or 'ending') of the creation'. Doing his best (as is proper) to degrade the ideas to the level of the commonplace, I can conceive that some critic might suggest that the composer referred to the inauguration of some new phase of civic life of which he was the witness, but the 'generation of the world', unless we understood it 'as the actual regeneration of the people' an idea too advanced for the document, is too strong a term to bear the interpretation referred to. Particularly in view of the last line and the first of the next strophe; the 'last turning [the end] of the creation' proves that the 'generation' spoken of was 'its beginning', for the 'creation' here could hardly mean the organisation of the State. But much as we might twist the meanings, there is absolutely no choice in our first report of the literal terms, and a doctrine of final judgment is plainly foreshadowed in the last words; 'the judgment is (practically) set, and the books are open; see Vendidad 19,27 fig. where the scene is portrayed; also Y. 49,11 where the evil souls come to meet the condemned as they do in the memorable Yasht. 22; but this judgment like that predicted in the New Testament does not seem to have been regarded as remotely distant.

6. 'In-which ending may'st Thou come with Thy most bountiful [or 'most holy'] spirit, (b) O Mazda, with Thy sovereign power in this [ending], [and] with [Thy] good mind, (c) by whose deeds the settlements are furthered through asha [the efficiency of the holy constitution]; (d) laws unto these aramnaiti, [the alert-activity of mind', or 'the one endowed with it' (possibly masc.)] teaches, (e) [laws] of Thine understanding which [(accusative) understanding] no man deceives'.

The roots and forms of the words as well as their literal point are all perfectly obvious in this interesting strophe; and we see from it that the reward spoken of in strophe 5 must have been thought possible in a near future with the result of the further inculcation of saving regulations. This in no respect removes the supernatural aspect of the expected assize to which Ahura would come; recal also Y. 30,9 where the saint hopes that he, with his

associates, might take a personal part in bringing on the Frashakard or 'completion-of-progress', meaning the restoration of 'millennial' (sic) happiness; the 'two lives' seem to have been regarded as being practically unbroken by the crisis of judgment and the settlement by rewards and punishments; the life of the saints continued in a 'refreshed' scene with all holier forces reinvigorated. In the later Avesta this future life was depicted as wholly supernatural.

7. 'Yea, bounteous [with-holiness] I-thought Thee, O-Ahura-Mazda (b) when [*he-*]-with-the-good-mind [the representative of the religious community] came to-me, (c) and asked me 'who art-thou'; 'whose art-thou'?; (d) 'how to-day shall-I-show manifest-indications for-[that]-questioning, (e) signs in-thy-settlements and in-thy-person [or still more literally 'in thy body']'. The prophet is naturally questioned closely as to his origin and the source of his authority. In several strophes the subject to the verb 'came' is not directly expressed; some translators might suppose this subject to be involved in the words 'with-the-good-mind'; thus 'he-who-is-endowed-with-the-good mind', that is to say 'a representative of the political-religious party', a 'true member of the community'; otherwise strophe 12 gives us the clue; there 'Obedience' is spoken of as 'coming' to the composer; to this the objection might be made that in strophe 12 the approach of Sraosha (lit. obedience) was especially expected, and in that case his presence in the previous strophes does not look so natural. There is force in this, yet in strophe 12 he is not expected alone and unaccompanied, but coming hand-in-hand with 'the giver of the blest recompense and great riches' (or 'glory'). However the question is in no sense vital; the subject to the verb is either '[*he-*]-with-the-good-mind', meaning a representative of the people, or it is sraosha (obedience) understood but probably meaning 'obedience in the acquiescing ally', or 'in some especially loyal person or party' among the Zoroastrians as contrasted with others who may have been luke-warm; (it is safest to regard all these remarkable abstracts, good mind, sanctity, alertness-of-the-ready-mind, obedience, and even 'the sovereign power' as having been intended to be understood as the characteristics of particular persons or parties; if we really dared to understand them just as they were written in their literal force, the Gāthas would surpass all other compositions in moral sublimity; and this latter hypothetical, or merely limited fact is one of much importance).

8. 'Thereupon to him I Zarathushtra said at first; (b) 'would that I might be] a veritable and powerful castigator to the evil-heretic', [or the word rendered 'powerful' may be in 'its verbal, rather than in its adjective, form, 'would-that'-I-might-have-power as a veritable castigator'], (c) but to-the-saint I-would-be a-strong joy-giving-help, (d) since to diligent-cares of-the-sovereignty-at-will, [i. e. Your absolute sovereignty in the holy commonwealth] I-am-giving-myself, (e) as-much-as I-praise Thee, O-Mazda, and weave-[-my-song] to-Thee'. There is a difference of opinion with reference to the word rendered 'diligent cares'; my venerated friend Professor R. von Roth once preferred 'enjoyments'; 'since I take the enjoyments of Thy kingdom'; see my Gāthas at the place with commentary, p. 514, and dictionary (which may be issued by the time that this meets the eye of some readers); the main drift of the strophe however is not materially affected. My own view seems to me to be less sentimental and therefore safer than those of others where we differ; but I offer the others as alternatives; still other differences in opinion merely concern the grammatical form of a word, although the ancient Pahlavi translation suggests a different root to it; the result in either case is not materially affected in the light of our present purpose.

9. 'Yea, I conceived Thee bounteous[-with-holiness] O-Ahura Mazda, (b) when [he-]with-Thy-good mind came to-me, (c) his question [this] 'for what to-obtain (or 'to-know') dost-thou-wish', (d) thereupon, for-Thy fire an offering of-self-humbling-praise [in the spirit] (e) of asha [holiness], [for]-me as-much-as I-may-be-able I-will-think'. There is no difference in opinion here as to the roots present, or as to most of the forms; some might render '(c) for what dost Thou wish me to decide', and in the last line 'so long as I am able to think'; but such variations have no importance for us here.

10. 'Yea, wilt Thou show me, or 'provide for me', the ritual-sanctity, since I earnestly-invoke it for myself (b) going-on-hand-in-hand with-aramaiti the alert-readiness-of-the-mind [or 'with the one-inspired with it' (masculine(?))]; yea-verily, alert-readiness [do-I-invoke, (or 'verily I-would-move-in-active-devotedness')]; (c) and ask us what questions of-Thee are-asked by-us ('question us as we question Thee'(?), or 'teach us how to ask'), (d) for Thy question[is] as this [question] of-the-mighty-ones, (e) when- to [or 'by']

Thee the-ruling-[priestly-king] shall-present [his] mighty prayer-ful-wish'.

Some would give the idea 'may'st Thou look upon my righteousness since I call it here'(?).

Then line *c* is difficult only because its syntax is so spare; 'and ask us what to Thee are questions by us', i. e. 'our questions'; it is dangerous to read too much meaning into the plain words in such a case as this; we should therefore not cite this line to prove any isolated doctrine or theory.

11. 'Yea, I thought Thee bounteous [with-holiness], O-Ahura Mazda, (b) when [he who was endowed] with-the-good mind [the loyal citizen] approached me, (c) when with Your words I-first-incited-myself; (d) woes to-me among-men the-heart-devoted-one announced to-me; (e) this [am I devoted] to-fulfil which Thou-did'st-declare to-me [to be] the-best'.

There is a difference in opinion on line *d*, 'trusting in men appeared to me to be destruction' has been suggested by some; see my Comm. p. 516; but this is more sentimental and therefore less realistic, and more hazardous than my view; there seems absolutely no doubt at all that sufferings are alluded to in one line, and the *reception* of a command, at least, to do 'the best' in the other, while the grammatical forms also may indicate a *purpose* to do the best; the difference in opinion here does not disturb the significance of the resulting ideas.

12. 'And since Thou said'st; 'mayst - thou - come to - asha [the personified law] for-knowledge', (b) yea, do not command unheard [commands], (c) to-arise [or 'go out'] before that (d) obedience [in the loyal ally (or 'in my own converted hearers' ^{*1})] may-come to-me, going-on-hand-in-hand with-the-blest-reward and-greatriches [or 'grent glory'], (e) by which [or 'with which'] that personified obedience [in some representative individual among the well-affected] may-divide the-blest-rewards to-the battling-contestants to-their-advantage, [the settling of their mortal strife]'. ^{*1} Possibly the grammatical sense may be the true one here; 'before obedience comes to my own soul', that is to say 'before a reformed devotion is thoroughly established within me', 'before I recover my strength': but it is highly dangerous to accept such a refined spiritual idea, (although it may lie plainly in the words) either here, or in the psalms, as the first and immediately intended sense; such a thought however

cannot be excluded as a sequence following closely upon the other.

13. 'Yea bounteous [with holiness] I thought Thee, O-Ahura Mazda, (b) when [he endowed] with-the-good-mind came to-me; (c) aims of-desire to-attain [or possibly 'attain ye for me (infin. for imper.)'; i. e. 'cause me to attain them'], this [desired gift] give-ye me, the-gift (d) of-long [well possibly meaning 'of-eternal-life'] which no-one-whosoever may-wrest-by-andacity from-Yon, (e) [the gift] of the desirable* land, or 'home' (possibly 'existence') which was-said [to be] in-Thy kingdom'. Some prefer 'he came to know the aims of my desire' (in c). Except as to two unimportant items here all serious scholars would be, and are, I believe, at one on the literal wording. One is much tempted boldly to render of 'eternal life' in d, and this word for 'long life' is used in the Rig-Veda of the unending life of gods; but I wish my readers fully to understand that my present translations are made with a constant anxiety to err, if at all, on the safe side, either reserving hazardous conjectures for the notes, or else supplementing them at once by glosses in the texts.

14. 'As a man possessing [-means or 'being-intimately-known(?)'] and powerful gives to-a-friend, (b) to-me, O-Mazda, *give* Thy joy-producing grace, instructing-me. (c) since *endowed* with-Thy authority in-accordance [hardly 'in company'] with-asha [that is 'from the *motives of the* holy-law'] I-stand-forth, (d) I, verily] to to go-out-to [or 'to arouse'] the princely-chiefs [or possibly 'I stand forth as a princely-chief'] of [Thy]-doctrine [devoted to the religious state with its established creed], (e) with all who recite [as memorised] Thy manthras [or 'Thy sacred hymns']'.

Whether the supposititious giver who is cited for rhetorical effect was a man who 'possessed means', or was 'intimately known and trusted', or indeed 'a knowing person' does, not affect the value of the expressions materially.

There are differences in opinion as to line d, depending upon differences in the choice of texts; some render 'arise thou, have confidence'; although I am personally well satisfied with my own views here, this line had better not be cited to prove any theory, save that the tone of the sentiment in the Gâthas is the same everywhere.

15. 'Yea, bounteous-with-holiness I-thought Thee, O-Ahura

Mazda, (b) when [he-] with-the-good mind came to me, (c) and showed me with-best intelligence, [or it may possible mean 'may he endowed with the docile mind be [himself] enlightened with best intelligence' (a difference between 'showing' and 'knowing'), to the following effect], (d) 'let not a foremost man be a-propitiator of-the-infidel-foe; (e) yea, Thy saints have-treated all the infidel-enemies [as] devilish'.

Much as we may vary the free cast given here, as usual all serious translators would be absolutely at one on the literal roots present, and almost at one also as to all the forms, with the sole exception of the word rendered 'foremost', which some prefer to replace with one meaning 'man', an idea already necessarily implied in the other terms.

16. 'Yea, O Ahura Mazda, he, Zarathushtra, (b) chooses Thy most bounteous (?) spirit; and every most-bounteous and holy man binds-it-to-himself [-with-prayer, i. e. 'prays']; (c) 'may the-holy-law be provided-with-body, [i. e. 'incarnate in our tribes'], strong with-vital-vigour (d) in the sun-seeing (or sun-like) realm be aramaiti, [i. e. alertness-of-the-ready-mind-to-obey]; [(e) and may-it-grant a righteous recompense by-occasion-of-deeds through-vohu manah, [-the-good mind in our folk]'

There is a choice as to the point of the ideas in lines *a*, *b*; 'Z. chooses to himself every holiest spirit which is from thee (?)'; so one; the other views are of even less importance as differences in opinion; but as the regards the rest, lines *c*, *d*, *e*, the invaluable fragment is perfectly clear and undisputed as to literal meanings.



YASNA XXIX.

the Cause

The wail of the kine's soul; — the call of Zarathushtra.

This chapter, the second in the Mss. of the Gâtha Ahunavaiti, is placed here (after the introductory XLIIIId) as in a more natural order; it may be regarded as explaining the *terminus a quo* of the divinerevelation which is presented in the Avesta. 'The soul of the Cow' representing the herds of the holy Iranian people, their only means of honourable livelihood is poetically represented as raising its voice, and in an Avesta jeremiad expressing the profoundest needs of an afflicted people, it addressed Ahura and his divine order Asha in bitterness; and the response was an event which has had a beneficial influence, like similar occurrences, upon many millions of human beings, for it was none other than the appointment of a memorable person, as a representative, to a prophetic office, and the sanctification of a name as an emblem of higher aspirations and consolatory assurances to an entire race for long periods up to the Arabic conquest, and to a chosen remnant of them in India and Persia even to the present day. Recalling another and a later 'groan of the creation', she demands wherefore and for whom she was made, since afflictions encompass her, and as her comfort, if not her existence, was threatened as much by the unsettled habits induced by constant alarms as by the actual incursions of her predatory neighbours, she beseeches of the Bountiful Immortals to instruct her as to the benefits of civilised agriculture, and to confirm her protectors in its practice as her only remedy against the evils of which she complains. Ahura answers by a question to Asha, the personified sanctity of the law, as to what guardian he had appointed in order to smite back the fury which assails her; for none could be appointed who could actually prevent them, since none was himself without his share of injustice and of

passionate resentment; he could not answer why this was the case; the question involving the insolvable problem of the origin of evil, lay at the foundation of those influences which move the controlling forces; but the colloquy results in the appointment of Zarathushtra to the office and work of the needed leader. Yet an unexpected difficulty arises; the King's soul is by no means impressed by the personality of the individual selected as her guardian; so far from being the demigod of the later Avesta, Zarathushtra's declarations are characterised by her as the 'voice of a pusillanimous man', whereas she expected one truly kingly in his rank and disposition, and able to bring his desires to effect; while the Bountiful Immortals(?), as if they had meant their question in verse 7 to be one uttered in mere perplexity or contempt, join in with chorus, asking when indeed an effective helper will be provided. But Zarathushtra undismayed by the coldness of his reception, enters at once upon his office as priest and prophet, obeying that command of Ahura of which the Avesta became so strong and deep an echo.



YASNA XXIX.

The wail of the Herd's soul; the call of Zoroaster

To You cried the Kine's soul:
for what did Ye form?; who made me?
On me come wrath and the blow,
the murder's shock, contempt's defiance;
Than You none other have I,
then prosper, Thou guardian, my tillage!

the creator of the herds

How hadst thou for kine a chieftain?
thus the Herd's maker asked of Asha,
When, ruling ones^{*2}, ye made her
with the field, kine-breeding, zealous?
Whom chose ye her life's master,
wrath from the wicked ones smiting?

*Asha^{*3}*

Asha to him made answer:
'no chief driving grief can be offered;
Of these things those are hidden
how the lofty move their plans;
Of beings He is mightiest
whom I near with earnest call.'

sovereignty

'Decrees He most announceth,
deeds beforehand done remembering,
By infidels done, and by us,
and whate'er may be done hereafter;
The Lord shall all things discern;
to us shall it be as He willeth'.

^{*1} representing the sufferings of the agricultural population from the bloody raids of Turanian or Vedic^{*} enemies.

^{*2} the Ameshaspends, or Holy Immortals, the personified attributes of God.

^{*3} the personified Holiness of the Law.

Zoroaster

Thus we too beseeching,
with hands uplift to Ahura,
I, and the mother Cow,
with questions in doubt press Mazda;
Not on the diligent saint
let destruction fall with the faithless!

Ahura, the call

Then spake Ahura Mazda,
He knowing the hope from his guidance:
'No chieftain is found for us here,
nor one from the Right inspirèd;
Then thee for the diligent saint,
as a lord, the Creator orders'.

the Holy Immortals^{*1}

'Mazda this Manthra for blessings
created with Asha consenting;
Food on the Kine he bestowed,
on the eaters with merciful teaching;
Who, with the Good Mind's grace,
will declare it with mouth to mortals?'

Ahura, the appointment

'Found for me here is the man,
who alone to our doctrines hath hearkened,
Zarathushtra Spitama;
our sacred counsels (Asha's and Mazda's),
Forth to proclaim he desires;
Him the place of my prophet give I'.

^{*1} or possibly, the attending saints.

the Herd's soul

Then wept the Kine's Soul: 'gain I
a lord for the grieving feeble,
A voice of an impotent man ^{*1},
while I pray for a kingly chief'.

the Immortals^{*2}

'When shall he ever appear
who may give to her help strong-handed?'

Zoroaster, prayer for success

'Grant gladness, O Ahura
and the Right³, unto these a Kingdom,
A Realm with the Good Mind ordered,
which joy and amenity⁴ giveth;
Of these, O Mazda, ever
the possessor first I thought Thee'.

and for light

'Whence Righteousness, Good Mind, and Thou
the Kingdom, come Ye?: then hastening
To grant us light, O Lord,
for The Holy Cause do Ye reach us
Your aid, O Living One, now,
Yea, the helpful gifts of Your faithful!'

^{*1} the prophet 'without honour'.

^{*1} see the word-for-word.

^{*2} Asha.

^{*4} honest labour safe from the raid.



Y. 29. Word-for-word translation with non-technical explanations.

1. The real differences here concern hardly more than one word; does that word mean 'he has oppressed me', or is it a noun to the same general effect meaning 'with slaughter by the sword', or, with another reading 'with destruction of life', (the verb 'is' is often understood so that 'he has oppressed me' is not necessary as a verb.; still it is a good idea to find such a thought, and the ancient pallavi translator suggested a verb. The following is the word-for-word; 'To you the soul of the Cow cried-lamenting: 'for whom did ye make me?; — who fashioned me?; (b) — against me [are*1] the fury-of-rapine, and [actual] violence, the-blow together-with-slaughter-by-the-sword*1, insolence and thievish-might [so, with a slight change of text]. (c) Not to-me [is there] a pasturer (sic) other than you; so teach me [or 'command for me'] good-things referring-to-pasturing'. *Or*1 'fury has oppressed me and violence', etc. (omit. 'slaughter', etc. read; 'has oppressed me').

2. The differences in opinion here refer to one item only; and this does not affect the general sense; the old pallavi translators used a word meaning 'do-ye-wish-for' in its adverbial and especially idiomatic form as if meaning 'in-the-wished-for-blessing [be he]', equivalent to 'salvation', 'hosanna'. An almost uncontested word-for-word would be: 'Thereupon the fashioner-of-the-Cow asked Asha: 'how was there for thee a chief for the Cow (the sacred herds) (b) when ye-made her, ye-powerfully-ruling-ones, together-with-pasture-tillage [how was there for her] a-chief clever-and-energetic in-cattle-culture?; (c) -whom did-ye [possibly 'may ye' (no change in the letters)] wish-for, [i. e. 'determine upon'] as-a-lord for-her, who might-smite-back the-furious-raid [which is perpetrated] by-the-evil-infidels'.

3. Much difference in opinion exists as to one word here, and also as to the cast of line b; and one writer creates artificial difficulties with line c; yet this only illustrates once more the truly remarkable fact that the literal terms, even in the presence of such difficulties in the interpretation of them as we have here, are in themselves, with three exceptions perfectly plain: 'To-him [he]-with-asha answered; 'there is no chief [with some 'no shelter']

for the Cow without-the-sufferings-occasioned-by-malice [-during the havoc of the raids', (so nominally, but really referring to the general sufferings of existence)]; (b) of-these-things [(possibly meaning 'by those people') are] not for-knowing, [i. e. to be known] what-things move the lofty plans? [or 'fires'] [(so, for one interpretation of line *b*; I give others in my commentary; see Gâthas pp. 414 fig.); — 'of those things not for knowing [is it] how he* moves the lofty plans'; once more, 'of those things not to be known [i. e. 'not for knowing is it'] how the lofty ones* move their plans'. Let this be distinctly noticed by critical theologians; here are three differing renderings upon which specialists might bitterly contend, as they present one of the renowned difficulties in the Gâthas; yet the whole three (and they might be still further varied) do not express any difference at all in the main ideas intended to be expressed; the point remains unchanged; it makes no difference to us whether we have 'there' is no 'chief' 'who can dispense with woe', or 'there is no shelter (which a chieftain alone could give) without woes'. 'An answer to the questions as to the chief who could have saved the Cow is not to be had'; — 'we cannot tell how either the influences which controlled the creation of the Kine with all the miseries involved were themselves determined'; 'we do not know how the 'stars of destiny' were moved', or, 'the altar fires sustained', or finally 'the plans' were carried out ...' Whichever one of the three ideas we may prefer, the question is always as to 'influences'; whatever they were, which controlled the creation with its 'unavoidable pains', they may have been 'the stars', 'the fires', or 'the cares'; so much for line *b*; line *c* proceeds)], (c) 'of existing-beings He is the most-powerful to whom those having-made-invocations [are] coming, [or 'to whom I-will-come with-the-one-having-made invocations'; see Gâthas pp. 414 where the fullest discussion is given. But whichever sound and reasonable view of the three, or four, we may select; let it be noticed again that *for theology there is little difference*; and the impression left upon us is deeply interesting. One distinguished teacher indeed startled us by rendering 'greatest of animals'; which hardly looks serious as the superlative adjective is again immediately applied to Ahura in the following line.

4. As to the literal terms, I can see hardly a possibility of a difference of opinion here, although of course different minds, according as they are predisposed, may give a differing colour to

their reproductions. Perhaps the idea of 'declaring his decrees' is meant as well as 'His close and thorough attention' to them. So understood the ideas would join on well with those in the preceding strophe. 'Mazda is most-reciting-from-memory' [so, literally; i. e. the one who fully proclaims that concerning which the questions have been asked'. 'He is the-one-who-recites-most-fully' what-things indeed have-been-done before-at-certain-periods (or 'before at every period') (b) by-daeva-demon-[-worshippers] and by-[faithful]-men, and what things shall-be-done [by them] hereafter-at-certain-periods [or 'at every period']; (c) He *is* the-discriminating-discerner, Ahura; so to-us shall-it-be, as He shall-will'. A truly remarkable passage, whether it expresses a full doctrine of predestination or not, it certainly prepared the way for the full development of such ideas; the 'uttered-decrees' or 'utterances' were something which 'had been done', 'enacted'; we naturally think of a foretold decree; and 'he is most-memorising' (sic), 'most-reciting-as-a-priest', i. e. 'recites with unbroken and expected regularity as a priest recites his offices, declaring what shall he hereafter'. Here all seems inexorable, and we should naturally say that 'so shall it be to us as he shall will' likewise refers to utterances concerning us like those of lines *a* and *b*, that is to say, they seem to be decrees of providence and foreordination. But it may also be possible that the words express Ahura's judgment upon our deeds, He is the discriminating arbiter 'He will decide our fate in view of our deeds as He shall will, because *He knows them thoroughly*'; 'the utterances' then need not have been irresistible decrees done and to be enacted by demons and saints, but simply quasi predictions formulated by demons on the one side and by Him, Ahura on the other; and of these uttered commands He 'is most mindful *mairishta*'. And because He is most mindful and does not forget; He will be a discerning judge, and our fate shall not be such as to deceive His expectation; 'it shall actually be to us as He shall will'; 'We shall be rewarded or punished by an intelligent judge, one able to foresee the future'. I regard it as my duty to restrain the exegesis, avoiding such a pronounced theological concept as fore-ordination, seeing however foresight in the words; but doing my best to lower the ideas, I must yet after all confess that the words 'so shall it be to us as He shall will' are too forcible for me. They express a scheme of influence which passes over the limits of mere

foresight; He must at least be recognised as predestinating and fixing the conditions and terms of our future existence, if not the facts of that existence themselves. The view that power was involved in the expressions is strengthened by the terms of the succeeding verse. I ought to add that the expression 'most mindful', literally 'most-reciting-from-memory' possessed a force at the period at which it was here used which cannot be understood by us without a word of explanation; the priestly recitation, to give the term its most realistic colouring, was to the ancient Zoroastrian pretty nearly what the 'plenary inspiration' of the Semitic scriptures is to an extreme and devout believer of the calvinistic type. There existed no writing, as we must suppose; and the memorising of ancient religious pieces was an office the importance of which could not well be exaggerated. The worshippers thought that their salvation hung on a few syllables recited from some ancient source, exactly as modern extremists think the same thing with regard to differing readings of ancient canonical texts. When therefore we read the words 'Ahura is the-most-reciting-from-memory' we could not have before us a stronger figure of speech; in fact it need not have been a figure; it may have simply expressed the idea that Ahura was speaking through his prophet as the 'great high-priest of their profession'. It is particularly fortunate that this remarkable stanza (4) should have come down with text literally unimpaired; of itself alone it possesses great value.

5. This verse expresses an act of prayer based upon the power and foresight of Ahura: 'So may-we-two*, my soul and the Cow's, be*-praying-with-hands-stretched-out (uplifted), to-Ahura when we-shall-urge Mazda with questionings; let-there not-be destruction to-the-right-living diligent-husbandman [(the typical orthodox citizen)] among-the-evil-unbelievers'. The differences in opinion here in no wise affect the general sense; it is possible that the auxiliary verb 'we-two-may-be' is not really expressed but understood, while a slightly differing reading would give us a similar word 'for-the-two-worlds' which is so remarkably emphasised in Y. 28,2. But even if we accept this latter view, it only adds a graphic stroke to the delineation. So again the verb 'we-two-press' may not be present, and Mazda may be the object of the verb 'we-two-are-praying', so understood as repeated from line *a*; 'when [we are praying] Mazda'; this of course leaves the sense unaltered, while

the word thought to mean 'we-two-are-pressing' must mean, if not that, then 'in our doubt', and so translated it looks especially effective and simple; this again only adds an expressive element to the sentence, and in no wise alters its result (I regard these facts as very note-worthy; here are radical differences, but they effect only the element of expression).

6. The course of thought proceeds unbroken: Ahura gives another reason for the unsatisfactory state of things hitherto, and accedes to the renewed supplication of Zarathushtra and the herd's-soul. A practically uncontested word-for-word would be: 'Thereupon spoke Ahura Mazda, knowing the decreed-remedy* [effective] through-[His]-guidance; (b) not-a-single spiritual-lord is-found, nor a-secular-chief [appointed] in-accordance-with-the-holy-law (asha); (c) then indeed thee have-I, as-creator, formed [as the needed chief] for-the-cattle-breeding-[citizen], and for-the-pastoral-husbandman'.

The only difficulty here is one which curiously does not affect the resulting general meaning, though it is a question between two totally opposed translations of an important word; either we have in line *a* 'He Ahura, knowing the decreed-remedy for the disaster named'; or we have 'He . . . knowing the disaster itself', with the idea of the remedy expressed in line *c*; the difficulty, decided as it may be for close experts, has no adverse importance whatsoever for the history of the events figuratively portrayed in the poem.

The next stanza 7 is still in line with its predecessors; the ecclesiastical establishments are said to be in existence, and the internal regulations for the national agriculture, but a 'man' is called for again. I cannot see grounds for even the slightest difference of opinion save as to two subordinate terms: 'Ahura Mazda fashioned this holy-word-of-reason [(the received hymns of a liturgy(?)); a word] of 'fatness*' [so meaning (i. e. prayer for prosperity), of-the-same (delighted)-will with Asha], (b) and [He provided] food for-the-eaters, He bounteous [in-his-holiness] with-his-doctrinal-command; (c) [but] who for-Thee [is-he endowed]-with-the-good-mind who may -give - forth those - two - things by-mouth* verily to-mortals'?

The word fatness in 'manthra of fatness', 'hymns for prosperity' may mean 'manthra of invocation' which does not practically

affect the resulting sense, as it involves a mere qualification; also the word rendered 'with-the-mouth' is in a shattered condition; some restore it as a word meaning 'we two'; another as a word meaning 'ever'; the differences however do not practically affect the result, as the points involved here are all subordinate.

8. Although various casts may be given to the exact points of the expressions here, there is no difference in opinions which practically, or at all, affect the chief sense, and only an unimportant difference as to the root present in one word: 'This one [is] here found for-me who alone has hearkened to our doctrines-of-command, (b, c) Zarathushtra S.; he-desires to-cause our sacred-counsels to-be-heard for-us, for-Mazda and for-Asha, wherefore will-I-give him the-good-abode* [meaning 'the firm-position'] of-a-promulgator'. Some give the cast, emending the text 'he will from his memory deliver what remains in his recollection of our speech'; this results from an especially bold reconstruction of the text itself founded upon mere conjecture; then some prefer 'the good wisdom' of a promulgator, etc. instead of 'the good-abode', i. e. 'firm position'; whichever cast we may give, the main result is the same; Zarathushtra is the man chosen, and he wishes to deliver Ahura's message to the people; and especial facilities are afforded him, or capacities already present are recognised; it is merely a question of differing readings in the Mss. or differing restorations on the part of scholars. No possible discredit is reflected upon modern translators, as such, after certain differences in the texts have been taken into consideration; and although it is an important fact that a choice in the different readings of Mss. is one of the most pressing of our duties, and even conjectural restorations are often an imperatively needed portion of our work, yet a first translation is always called for in the light of the texts most commonly received; and if these vary, of course the blame for the resulting divergencies in our translations does not rest with us.

9. Here, as nearly always, the differences as to the precise cast of the ideas does not affect the main drift: 'Thereupon the soul of-the-cow wept, [crying 'I] who obtain* for-the-wounded-of-mind* (b) a will-less voice of-a-non-heroic man, [I] who wish for-me one-lord-of-his-wish; (c) when in-continuity [of-time ('when ever')] shall-he-be who to-her, [i. e. to me the Cow] shall-give aid-with-hand'; see

Gâthas pp. 427 flg. as to the different casts of the two last words of line *a*. *The word rendered 'obtain' may not have that force, which however must be understood, if not here actually expressed; it may mean something which merely fills out what is otherwise fully indicated: 'I who [lament] a will-less lord'; or again 'I who [lament] a will-less illiberal-one', (so with a different text, NB.); the most 'slashing' rendering would be: '[I] who in-a-will-less-manner [i. e. against my will] must carry-out to-its-satisfaction(?) the-command a-non-heroic man'. All the views express a graphic juncture which is clearly of the greatest value; cp. the prophet elsewhere 'without honour in his own country'; also the self depreciation of Moses, etc.

10. The terms here are clear; and there is little room for differences: 'Do Ye, O-Ahura and Asha, give to-these might and a ruling-power (b) such-as [may-be-accompanied] with-the-benevolent mind through-which latter it may-give to-these the-amenities-of-domestic-prosperity and restful-joy; (c) I-indeed [or, 'I for-one] thought Thee, O-Mazda, the-first [or 'foremost'] possessor of-this'.

11. This stanza seems to be a fitting close to the momentous circumstance about which the sections groups itself; the differences in opinion in no degree affect the general sense which is, as usual, clear: 'When [is] Asha* and Vohu Manah and Khshathra [or possibly 'where are they' coming]; yea, hastening to-me (b) do-ye, O Mazda Ahura, assign [these for my guidance] for-the-great maga [cause, literally 'for the great rewarding [dispensation]', so, possibly]; (c) yea, now [assign] your aid to-us for-this [great cause of our reestablishment, this aid] of-the-liberal-offering of-your-devoted-ones'. Some might prefer; 'assign me . . . to one who cares for me for the great-reward'; or once more; 'accept me in the care-taking covenanted confederation']'. *¹

This piece, rough as it is, even to the verge of the uncouth, possesses singular interest from every point of view; in the first place it was practically contemporaneous with the actual events

*¹ I may say, referring for a moment to a technical point, that I first suggested vocatives neuter in-em here in this verse; and my initiative has been followed without recognition; my view was however only an alternative one; this is however trivial in comparison with what has occurred in the same direction.

to which it alludes, as I hope elsewhere to prove; the sudden prominence or 'call' of a leader named Zarathushtra must have been a still effective circumstance, and not merely a remembered tradition, although it must have taken some little time for it to acquire its poetical settlement; yet, as we see, it was evidently put together for the purpose of securing the recognition of Zarathushtra's leadership and of consolidating his authority.

The form is also graphic, and in the higher sense truly poetical.



YASNA XXVIII.

the Priest in prayer.

Zarathushtra, having entered upon his duties, composes a prayer for the use of some of his more eminent colleagues, possibly, but not at all probably, for one whom we might consider to have been the original mover in the entire religious effort.

The words are certainly put into the mouth of some one definite person of marked distinction. He was not Zarathushtra himself, for we have the expression 'to Zarathushtra and to me', nor was he Vishtâspa, the sovereign; see 'to Vishtâspa and me', nor yet Frashaoshtra; it may have been Jamâspa here put forward as priestly spokesman, the piece having been composed by the great author, or inspirer of them all, whom we naturally suppose to have been Zarathushtra.

The reciter, whoever he may have been intended to be, is represented as standing in the appropriate place as a priest with hands stretched forth toward the emblem of Ahura's presence, the fire, and praying for the possession of moral acquirements from an unselfish motive; and the care of the herds once more gives the key-note to the entire production.

It has already been pointed out that the Kine's soul was a poetic belief which happened, like so many others, to be grounded in deeply practical considerations. To treat the cow and the horse, even individually considered, with fairness was both a written and an unwritten point of honour, while as a public statute, the care of the cattle interest involved one of the most solid and moral articles of religion which any nation could possibly formulate, and especially at a period and under circumstances when the very maintenance of their rudimental civilisation as a people depended on cattle-culture, for that alone saved the Zoroastrians from becoming once more what those freebooters, of whose depredations they complained, still continued to be. But though 'cattle' may seem to us

but little associated with the higher instincts, we should recall that it alone saved them from the practice of murder and pillage, and in this case it was associated with experiences in mental religion which lead us to compare the nation to a vast religious agricultural brotherhood. Think of a multitude who could join in a prayer for skill and fidelity in cattle culture, and at the next breath 'for the attainments of the mental as well as of the bodily life, which might place their recipients in spiritual and temporal beatitude'; but no further preface is needed here.

The stanzas, free and literal, speak for themselves. Notice the persistent prevalence of the vocative case: stanzas 1, 2, 6, 8, 9 are addressed more directly to Ahura, while the 3^d and 4th are divided between Asha and Vohu Manah with the inclusion of all the four leading 'attributes'; 7 is addressed to Asha, Aramaiti and Ahura; the names of Haurvatât and Ameretatât do not occur.



YASNA XXVIII.

Zoroaster enters upon his office.

A priestly prayer

With hands outstretched I beseech,
with praise for this grace, the first blessing,
All actions done in the Right,¹
gift of, Mazda, Thy bounteous spirit,
And the Good Mind's understanding,
thus the Herd's soul I appease.²

for heaven and earth

I who You two encircle,
Great Giver* the Lord, with the Good Mind;
Gifts for the two lives grant me,
this bodily life and the mental,
The prizes by Right deserved;
thus to Glory He brings His blest!

invocation

O Righteousness and thou Good Mind,
with surpassing chants I'll praise you,
And Mazda, for whom our Piety
aids the everlasting Kingdom;
Aye, together I adore you;
then for grace while I call draw near.

consecration

I, who my soul am giving
to watchful zeal³ with a good mind,
For every action the grace
of Mazda, the Living One, knowing,
In wish for the Truth will I teach⁴
while I can, and have aught of power!

¹ 'the sanctity of The law included ritual and ceremonial holiness as well as purity in thought, word and deed'.

² see Y. XXIX.

³ or 'to Heaven'.

⁴ or 'learn'.

longings

O Holiness, when shall I see Thee,
and thou Good Mind, as I discover
Obedience, the path¹ to the Lord,
to Mazda, the most beneficent?
With that Manthra will we teach²
foul heretics faith on our God.

Come with the Good Mind, and give us
asha-gifts, O Thou eternal³;
Through revealed truth do Thou grant
Zarathushtra Thy strong help;
Grant that to us by whose aid
we may crush the tormentor's torments⁴!

for guidance and grace

Give, Holiness, Thou this blessing,
gains earned by a Good Mind to us,
And grant our wish, O Ârmaiti,
to me, and to Vishtâsp⁵ together;
Grant Thou us, O Mazda, ruler,
Your Beneficent words to hear.

and for the future

That best I ask, Thou Best One,
One-in-mind with the Right bestowing,
Of Thee, Ahura, I ask it
for Frash(a)oshtra⁵ and me beseeching;
Freely to us may'st Thou give it
for the Good Mind's lasting age.

¹ or 'the throne of Mazda the Lord beneficent to the obedient'(?); see the word-for-word.

² or 'hold off the flesh-devouring fiends'; see the word-for-word.

³ or 'long-life, O Thou giver of holiness'.

⁴ the bloody idolatrous foe who lived by plunder.

⁵ 'the union of a trio in earnest supplication is a special indication of the historical character of the document. F. with three syllables.

fears, and further prayer

With prayers for these blessings, O Mazda
and Asha, may we not pain you,
And Best Mind, we who aid you
in the tenfold (?)¹ chorus of praisers;
Propitious verily be Ye
toward the mighty possessor of weal.²

again for light

What laws of truth Thou knowest
from insight of Right, and the Good Mind,
With these as the gains for earning,
O Ahura, fill our desire,
Thus do I learn Your commands,
complete for our plenty and weal.

and for inspiration

I who the Right to shelter
and the Good Mind, am set for ever,
Teach Thou me forth from Thyself
to proclaim, from Thy mouth of spirit
The laws by which at the first,
this world into being entered!

¹ so probably literally, but possibly it really is meant to express
'mighty'.

² possibly refering to the king Vishtâsp mentioned above.



Y. 28. Word-for-word rendering and popular explanations. The words here present are all quite simple; there may be a doubt whether we have 'all actions', or 'actions toward all'. The Sanskrit equivalents to the words in this chapter are all familiar words; they may be seen in my contribution to Roth's *Festgrüss*; p. 193 ff.

1. An English verbatim would be with: 'self-humbling-praise of this-helping-grace [or 'joy-giving-grace'] having-out-stretched-hands I-will entreat [bind-here-with-prayer] (b) the first blessing of-the-spirit bountiful [-with-holiness], O Mazda, actions toward-all [done] with-asha [the sanctity of the law, (c) entreating also for] the understanding of-the-good mind [meaning of-the-one endowed-with-the-good-mind] whereby I-may-content the soul of the Cow [the spirit of the sacred herds which cried in grief to-Thee]'.
The theology here is not as low as it might seem to a non-expert; the 'actions toward all' could not possibly be confined to ceremonial rites, though they doubtless included them; and the sacred regularity, or 'right', contained a moral element, as is clear from the keynote to the entire passage, which was energetic and humane labour in the all-important cattle-culture, as to which see above. At the period then present this latter was precisely the circumstance which diverted an entire nation from the customary murderous petty warfare on which the border tribes were too apt to depend for support.

2. All the words are of the simplest here, the only differences in opinion being as to whether 'those who receive' the benefit named are placed 'in comfort' here, or 'in beatific happiness' here, to be continued hereafter; see the simple reproduction. I should say that I use the word 'holiness', as being less profound, or ideal, than 'righteousness' which I preferred in S. B. E. XXXI; it was an exact fidelity to the law, ritualistic, statutory, and moral; but it was not 'eternal truth' aside from all accidental associations, in just this place, and not so often this anywhere.

'[I] who surround [i. e. approach] You, O Mazda Ahura, with-a good-mind, (b) [be Thou willing] to-grant to-me the-rewards of-the-two lives, of-the-bodily, and what [is] of-mind (c) attained in-accordance-with-asha [as the sanctity of the law] with-which [attainments] he-may-place [those receiving [them] in-beatific-

happiness'. The expression 'surround' seems to point to an ancient practice of 'encircling' the altar in a religious march; the 'You' is probably in the plural of majesty, as 'the good mind' is here not the archangel who is approached as elsewhere. We cannot exaggerate the importance of the expressions 'of-the-two-lives', 'of the bodily' and 'of that of mind'; they are totally unassailable as expressing all that they seem to express; and they carry with them the possibility of understanding very many other such expressions in a similar sense, and very often not only the possibility of such an exegesis, but the necessity for it. In fact these words prove that the deeper sense may lurk, nay that it does lurk, everywhere, even where the immediate point primarily intended to be expressed by the composer has reference to some comparatively external interest.

3. There would be little difference in opinion here, save that some might prefer 'may devotion, increasing the everlasting kingdom, come to my call . . .' which, in the light of the objects now held in view, is a difference not worth further consideration.

'[I] who will-weave [my-hymn] to-you, O Asha and Vohu Manah, [i. e. O Holiness and Good Mind], in-a-manner-unsurpassed, (b) and Mazda Ahura, for-whom Aramaiti [the alert and ready mind] causes-the intransitory kingdom (c) to-increase; come-ye to-my invocations for-joy-creating-help'.

As occurring in a precious fragment and as estimated in the interests of comparative religion, such a difference as the application of the word 'having-no-first' ('nothing before it') should be regarded as of trifling importance, whether we say 'I will weave my hymn to Ahura who has none before him'; or 'I will weave my hymn to Him in a manner unsurpassed' makes no difficulty whatsoever in our appreciation of the result; and to my own mind it is just such 'uncertainties' which pique our curiosity and keep awake our interest; one or the other view is correct, if we choose the corresponding text; and either is valuable.

4. There is a choice of texts; but there is little difference in opinion in rendering those texts when each one is considered apart: '[I] who will-deliver my soul to the-home-of-song (?) heaven (?), or 'to the mount' (which leads to it) or, I 'who will awaken my soul to-watchfulness', or again 'I who will awaken it to praise'; (obviously all subordinate differences which bear only one way; that is to say,

subordinate from the point of view of practical comparative religion). On the whole I now prefer: '[I] who am-reminding [my] soul to-watch** with-a good-mind, (b) having-known the-sacred-rewards of-[meaning 'for'-] actions [rewards] of-Mazda-Alhura; (c) as-much-as I am-able and-can, so-much will-I-teach* in-the-desire for-asha [as the-holiness-of-the-law], [or 'so-much will-I-learn (?) to-wish for (?) Asha]']'.

With regard to the alternative 'so long as I can I will learn to wish for asha', or 'the truth of the law', this is also of little importance to us as searchers in comparative moral-religion; at the same time one may say that the composer already speaks of himself as 'knowing'; 'will I teach' is therefore more probable, while 'to-wish for asha' differs little from 'in the wish for Asha'.

5. 'O sanctity of asha [as 'the law'], when shall-I-see thee and the Good Mind, finding (b) obedience the-way to the-most-beneficent Alhura Mazda, [or 'finding the throne of* Alhura most beneficent to* the obedient* (?)]; (c) with-that manthra may we with-tongue cause the-vermin-polluted[unbelievers] to-choose the-greatest-one, [or 'with that manthra may we most hold-off with-tongue the-vermin-polluted[unbelievers]']'. Here we have indeed a case of an exceptional gâthic difficulty; yet even here the differing views all bear closely in one way. The alternative reading of line *b* 'finding the throne of Alhura beneficent toward the obedient' is not so different from 'finding the way to him'. But in line *c* we have a word which may mean either 'we would cause polluted people to 'believe' (on the greatest)'; or 'we would most hold them off'. At the first sight we seem to have a bathos here; but the demons-of-vermin were seriously and wisely dreaded as a religious evil, and as such were 'to be held-off'; otherwise those infested with them were to be 'converted(sic)'. But the two views after all run on parallel lines; the vermin-polluted could not be converted 'till his figuratively described sins were held-off'. It is possible that 'evil beasts' may have been meant rather than evil 'insects', but I greatly doubt it; perhaps it would be best for our present purpose to omit the line. While as to the fine expression, almost the best in the Gâthas 'O Asha, when shall I see thee', no difference in opinion exists as to the literal terms! Some writers, straining mechanically after effect might possibly render, 'O my people (asha as the holy congregation!) when shall I see thee . . .'; but I know of no such expositor as yet.

The composer is evidently longing for the establishment of the holy law in the pious little state; see his allusion in strophe 3 to the gift 'for the two lives', and see the expressions 'in thought', 'in word', and 'in deed' in Y. 30, 6.

But if this strophe affords a signal instance of gâthic uncertainty, it is of exceedingly great importance for another purpose; for it also affords a striking instance of the fact that differing meanings can be given to the self-same words; incredible as it may appear, a literal rendering into the cognate Sanskrit language itself could not vary, whichever way we might translate this translation; the forms are practically different dialects of the same language.

6. 'Come Thou with-a-good-mind, give, [O Thou] with-asha-giving, long-life, [or with another reading 'give asha-gifts' ('gifts in accordance with the sanctity of the law and its needs'), O-Thou-long-lived-one (recalling the 'ancient-of-days')]; (b) with-sublime-and-righteous hymns give Thou, O-Mazda, to Zarathushtra powerful help-of-grace, (c) and to-me, O-Ahura, [that] whereby we-may-overcome the-malicious- vexations of-the-later, [i. e. of-the-enemy]'. Whether we say with one text 'asha-gifts', 'gifts-sanctified-by-the-religious-state-interests', [O-Thou] long-living-one, that is to say, 'O Thou eternal one', or 'give us, O-Thou-giver-of-asha-gifts, long-life' should not for a moment disturb the theologian; the words would be almost identical in either case; if we are to give up the gâthas on account of such 'uncertainties' as that, the sooner we abandon our studies the better.

7. 'Give, O-Asha, the ashi [sacred recompense] the attained-prizes of the good-mind; (b) give-thou, O-Aranaiti [the alert and ready mind [or 'thou one-endowed-with-the-alert-and-ready mind'], to Vishtâspa and to-me our wish; (c) do Thou grant, O-Mazda, and ruler*, [or 'and do Thou arrange'] that whereby we may, [while] efficaciously-serving [You], hear [or 'make-heard'] Your manthras, [i. e. holy words of revelation, probably hymns in metre; cp. Y. 46, 16]'.

The sole possible differences in opinion here would be with reference to the last line which might be rendered 'grant-Thou O-Mazda and arrange' for 'grant-Thou, Mazda, O-arranger'; and again for the latter half of the line 'in order that I as a manthra-speaker (holy-word-speaker) may bring to effect Your announcement [lit. '(word) to-be-heard']'; this instead of the rendering from the

other text, 'that we as efficient-[servants] may hear Your manthras', or 'holy-words-of reason', or 'that we may hear Your energetic manthras'; such uncertainties are trivial as difficulties in view our present object.

8. 'That best [blessing*], (see Y. 28, 1 which mentions the [blessing]), O Thou best-one, I beseech Ahura who [is] of-the-same-desire with Asha vahishta, (b) having desired [it] for the [heroic] man Frashaoshtra and for me, (c) to-whom also may'st-Thou-give it for all the-age of-the-good mind [as it is created and maintained among Thy holy people]'.
The sole uncertainty here, so far as the literal force of the terms is concerned, is as to the person of one word rendered 'may'st-Thou-give-[it]'; it may be in the first person 'may I (of course acting as 'Thy' prophet) bestow it; it is the difference between the direct, or the indirect gift of the deity. A question of interpretation however arises as apart from translation (so to express one's self); does 'the age of the good mind' refer to a beatified future existence?, or to the prolonged religious prosperity of the 'holy state'. I think that it refers to the one continued on 'till it becomes the other; it was the religious prosperity unbroken by the expected earthly consummation; either one of these views presents a valuable idea.

9. The sole possible differences of opinion here concern only subordinate detail; we are not certain whether a technical word 'tenfold' in the sense 'very powerful' is used, or whether the word means simply 'in the offering', but in the one case it is a qualification merely, and in the other a commonplace; a verbatim hardly contested, save as to the use of synonyms would be: 'With-those prayed-for-benefactions may-we-not-vex You, O Mazda Ahura, and Asha (b) and the mind which [is] the-best, we who have-made-effort in-the-decade [or 'in-the-offering'] of-the-praisers; (b) [be] ye [verily] most-helpful-to-promote also [toward] the one-who-is-lord-over-his-desire of-blessings, [i. e. able to realise what he desires in-regard to the highest benefits already named']'. The tone here is more pagan, so to speak, and helps to offset the extraordinary expressions of religious and intellectual depth made elsewhere.

10. The only differences in opinion here are such as this: 'I know Your commands to be such-as-well-reach-their aim' instead of 'such-as-concern-our-nourishment', the latter being perhaps the

safer: 'What statutes Thou dost know from Thine attribute-of-justice and-of-benevolent attention [to be] (b) just, O Mazda Ahura, fill-up the desire for these with-the-[prized]-results-having-been-obtained; (c) thus do I know Your words-of-command [to be] through You not-empty, [but] effective-for-nourishment, [or 'well-reaching-their-aim']-and-effective-for-[other-]acquisitions [well-possibly 'for the acquisitions of victory']'.

The 'filling of desire with laws' is a fine idea; the question of food was then as now a matter of supreme political importance.

11. There are practically no difficulties here; one word may mean literally either 'may-I-protect', or its form may be infinitive in the same sense: '[I] who in-consequence-of-these [things] may-guard, [or '[I] who [am set] to-guard'] Asha [as the holy-people representing the law] and - the - good mind [in the individual believer, i. e. 'the good man'] for-continuity, [i. e. forever], (b) [do] Thou, O Mazda Ahura, teach me forth to-tell (c) in-accordance-with-Thy-spirit with-Thy-mouth by-what [means, or 'laws'] the first world came-into-existence'.

There can be no question as to the presence of a speculative interest and curiosity as to original principles here.



YASNA XXX.

dualism.

This hymn, memorable and weighty as it is, was evidently composed for delivery at a stated assembly of the people, or their representatives, though it doubtless become afterward a familiar chant in every priestly home.

It is one of the most important pieces in the Avesta, and indeed one of the most important of its kind in ancient literature; for it has formed the centre of one of the greatest theologies which the world had ever seen. The diction has but little to recommend it, but the substance of the thought though quietly expressed possessed the value. The composer may be regarded as continuing the thoughts at the close of Y. XXVIII (which see). He seems to have had in mind (in the introductory stanza) the two doctrines, or the doctrine of the two beings, of which the greater part of the first half of the document treats, and in the second strophe he pointedly appeals to their attention, declaring that a decisive moment is upon them; they were to choose their religion, and, not by acclamation with the foolish decision of a mob but man by man, each individually for himself; they should therefore arouse themselves, and hear with all attention, and gaze at the holy fire with a good and receptive disposition of mind. He then delivers the earliest statement of dualism which has come down to us: 'There were two original spirits, each independent in his thoughts, declarations, and actions'; such is the short theodicy, followed at once by an admonition to choose the better.

These two spirits came together, as he announces, to make the opposing phenomena, life and its absence, the final state of good and that of evil; and the evil is described, not as a scene of cruelty inflicted upon the ignorant and the innocent, but as 'the worst life', and the good as equally remote from a superstitious paradise, for it is represented by the 'best mental state'.

This is the proper zarathushtrian creation; it is undeniably abstract, very; and just in proportion as it lacks colour and myth are its depths visible; the account is also very limited in extent; but it must never be forgotten that this fragment is the probable proof of the existence of others beside it; instead of there being one hymn sung like this Y. XXX, there were doubtless many. The two original forces or beings, although separate clearly, come together; but they do not lose their distinction; their difference remains as clear as their union; they do not blend unrecognisably; for having created the two principles, they choose each his own particular realm; Ahura chooses the righteous order of religion with the pious of all ages; the evil spirit chooses the wicked.

The point and interior meaning of the entire doctrine is that a good god cannot be responsible for permanent evil, that imperfection and suffering are original and inherent in the nature of things, and continuously so; the swallowing up of sin and sorrow in ultimate happiness for all men belongs as a doctrine to a later period; it is not gâthic zarathushtrianism; evil was the work of an independent being.

The great thinker saw his point; and it was that the Deity himself could not prevent the evolution of base and revolting moral qualities in both victim and aggressor; an evil god was therefore their author. But the blood-feuds of war, not to speak of the theological animosity were too much for his philosophy; the sage could not regard all men with broad and equitable impartiality.

The hated daeva-worshippers, who were doubtless equally conscientious with the zarathushtrians, are said to have failed of correct discernment; as they were deliberating, so he recalls, the worst mind, a very real, although an 'abstract', Satan came upon them to induce them to choose him and his evil realm; they acceded, becoming furious in their intention to injure human life. This may be regarded as a dramatic, but at the same time in a moral sense as a philosophical statement of a temptation and fall (for a later one, with more colour and less truth, see the temptation proper of Zarathushtra recalling as it so vividly does the temptation in the Gospels).

The clothing of souls with bodies seems indicated as a natural thought next in point, as the delineation progresses, and the composer breaks in with a prayer that in the future and possibly

at the Frashakard, 'the completion of progress', these created souls might possess such advantages as they had when Ahura came at the first with His acts of creation; and, as he implies and perhaps expresses in a lost verse, 'vengeance shall come upon the wretched beings who choose the Evil Mind as their master; and that not in the abstract by any means, but as executed upon a numerous, if not once predominant party, and when this shall have been completed (and Y. XXXI, 18 shows us that the weapons to be used to bring it about were not to be those of verbal argument alone), then, as he declares with enthusiasm, 'to God shall be the kingdom', a kingdom established in the divine benevolence which will pervade its organic life, and which will likewise, as the personified 'Immortal', utter encouragements and commands to its loyal citizens; and these latter will then not only conquer the demon of the Lie who was the life of the daeva-party, but they will deliver her up as a captive to the great genius of Truth, the personified sanctity of the law. And as he ardently hopes for the coming of the kingdom into the hands of Ahura, he as ardently beseeches that he and his colleagues, the princes already named, may be honoured as the immediate agents in bringing on this 'millennial' completion; nay, he even prays that they may be as 'ahuras' in merciful service, declaring that all their thoughts were centred in that scene where religious light dwelt as personified in her home'. Once more he announces the certain defeat and chastisement of the incarnate Falsehood and her adherents, which enables him all the more impressively to describe the rapid reunion of the righteous in the home-happiness of heaven.

Having delivered his brief but singularly inclusive communication, he commends his hearers for learning similar revelations on account of the duration of the announced rewards and punishments; they shall be 'long' indeed, and upon their complete inauguration full salvation shall be realised for those who shall have learned and heeded the invaluable truths.



YASNA XXX.

The delivery of the doctrine to the assembled masses; the first document of dualism.

Thus will I speak forth decrees, ye who come,
yea the wise one's monitions,
Praises I speak for the Lord,
and the offerings of the Good Mind,
Both benignant counsels from Truth,
whence signs in the lights*¹ seem friendly.

the hour of decision

Hear ye this with the ears;
behold ye the flames² with the Best Mind;
Faith's choices must ye now fix,
for yourselves, man and man deciding;
The great concern is at hand,
to this our teaching awake ye!

god and the evil god

Thus are the spirits primeval
who, as Twain, by their deeds are famed
In thought, in word, and in deed,
a better they two, and an evil;
Of these,³ let(*) the wise choose aright,
and not as the evil-minded!

creation and counter-creation

Then those spirits created,
as first they two came together,
Life and our death decreeing
how all at the last shall be ordered;
For evil men Hell,* the worst life,
for the righteous the Best Mind, Heaven.*⁴

¹ in the stars, or altar flame.

² the holy fire.

³ that is 'between these'.

⁴ the word 'best' became a name for heaven; did this arise from this chapter?; see also 'for all the age of the good mind' in Y. 28, 9, which seems to refer to the eternal futurity, or to a scene of 'millennial' restoration. 'Hell' and 'Heaven' are insertions; see the verbatim.

the choice

Of these two spirits he chose
 who is evil, the worst things working;
But Right chose the Spirit bounteous,
 clothing-on the firm stones of heaven,
(Choosing) those who content Ahura
 with deeds essentially pure.

the fall¹

Of these two chose not aright
 the Daevas*; theirs was deception;
Those questioning then he approached,
 the Worst Mind, that he might be chosen;
Together they rushed into Wrath,
 and the life of the mortal ruin!

redemption

To us² came then the helper*
 with the Kingdom, Right, and the Good Mind;
And a body gave Ârmaiti³,
 the eternal and never-bending;
With these who are Thine may she be,
 as Thou camest first in creations.

the struggle

Yea, when the vengeance cometh,
 vengeance just upon faithless sinners,
Thereon for Thee, O Lord,
 is the Kingdom gained by the Good Mind,
And for those declared, O Mazda,
 who the Lie* unto Truth deliver.

¹ of all the 'gods', or of their worshippers.

² or 'to him'.

³ devotion, the personified attribute of God and his saints.

victory

Thus may we be like those
who bring on this world's completion,
As ahuras of the Lord,
bearing gifts with Asha's grace,
For there are our thoughts abiding,
where wisdom lives in her home.

judgment

Then on the host of the Lie
the blow of destruction descendeth;
But swiftest in the abode
of the Good Mind gather the righteous,
With Mazda and Asha they dwell
advancing in holier fame.

and the end.

Wherefore these doctrines ye learn
which Ahura gave, O ye mortals,
For our welfare and in grace
when long is the wound for the wicked,
And blessings the lot of the pure;
upon this shall there be salvation!



Y. 30. Word-for-word renderings with popular explanations.

1. Many as may be the hair-splitting differences in opinion here as to isolated expressions (as to which see Gâthas, pp. 37 to 53; 431—449) the main drift is agreed to by all: 'Thus [or 'yea'], O coming-ones [O ye coming-to-seek], I-will-declare what-things [are (an iranian idiom)] the joyful-admonitions [to be declared] for [or 'to'] him-having-known [every relevant truth] whatsoever (b) and praises for-Ahura and the offerings of-the-good mind [offered in the spirit and in the interest of the personified benevolent wisdom, or 'the offering of this good mind in the saint'] (c) the-benevolent-counsels [revealed] by-Asha [the personified sanctity of the law], and what-two-things [are those] on-account-of-which [i. e. whereby] propitious-[omens] are seen through-the-lights [stars?, or 'altar flames']'.

Some refer the 'one having known' to an enlightened disciple, but this would not alter the fact that the sole enlightenment under review had reference to religious interests; if the one 'knowing each' interest involved were not Ahura, then he was a saint immediately under the divine influence. Some, joining two words, make out of them '(the beneficent counsels) 'of-ashi', the genius of reward', instead of counsels 'with or 'by' asha'. It used to be the fashion to read a word 'I pray', for which I have suggested the pronoun 'who' in the dual neuter; with reference to the last words there is more positive difference, but opinions all bear one way; and the terms which carry along the fresh and vigorous meaning are all simple and clear.

2. The same can be said of this strophe; many as are the twistings administered to the subordinate ideas, no one could conceal, even if he tried, the grand and simple appeal: 'Hear ye with-ears; gaze-at the flames with-best thought, [evidently intended to be spoken in sight of a fire-altar]; (b) as to the decision deciding-the-religions man-and-man, [each] for-his-own person, (c) before; [i. e. in-presence-of] the-great endeavour [of the cause of the religious campaign, (as we might) say 'be ye', or 'gaze ye', (repeating the idea from above)] awake to this our announcing!'

Some might say 'look with 'clear' mind' for 'look with the best attention at the bright flames' which last is far more natural and probable; yet the point is 'look'; 'hear', 'be awake individu-

-ally'; see Gâthas and Comm. pp. 38 and 435 flg. (to which Professor Justi did me the honour to call especial attention here; see Sonderabdruck aus dem preussischen Jahrbuche 1896 Seite 68); there I report the Asiatic commentaries, etc. in full.

3. This brings us to the great deliverance; here we have the doctrine of the existence of two original spirits specifically stated; the only differences in opinion which may be possible concern subordinate matter: 'So these-two first-two spirits which-two as two-paired-ones spontaneously-active [or 'beneficently active'] heard-themselves [i. e. were-heard-of, i. e. 'were announced', 'proclaimed in creed, etc.'] (b) in thought and in word and in deed²¹, these-two [as] a better-thing and an-evil; (c) and of [i. e. 'between'] these two [spirits (see strophe 5)] let the-well-doing discern aright, [let] not the-evil-doing [discern aright]'.

Some prefer a reading 'at first' instead of 'the two first'; and also to reading 'sleepless' for 'active'; but the difference which seems to tell most upon the practical result is that between our view at first sight and the others. At the first glance we should render thus: 'so are the two-spirits which-two heard²² in-thought, in word, and-in-deed these-two-things, a better and an evil; and (c) of these-two-things let-the-well-doing-choose aright, not the evil-doing'. But it is difficult to see who could have pronounced the original principles of existence to the original spirits, so that 'they might hear'. I suggest as an alternative to my first rendering that the word rendered, 'were-heard-of' may mean 'they-two-announced': these two first spirits announced these-two-things, a better and an evil in-thought in-word and-in-deed (not 'are announced (heard of) as these two things'); the word rendered 'are-heard-of' often means at its next stage in the Pahlavi, the quasi daughter language 'announce', i. e. as the causative of 'hear', 'make hear'; if then this meaning can be tolerated as one of the meanings of the Avesta-word, 'the-two-spirits announced the two-things, the better thing and the evil' might be the meaning here; it is my doubt as to this which leads me to leave my earlier translation unaltered; but I offer the alternative. The objection to a first rendering 'these two spirits were announced as two things, a better and an evil' is of course that this sense is too philosophical to be trusted as having been actually intended by the composer to be expressed; but on the other hand 'they-two-announced these-two-things, a better and

an evil in-thought, in-word and in-deed' is not so profound and therefore less suspicious. To which the rejoinder might be made that 'in-thought, in-word, and in-deed' refers more naturally to the mental, verbal and practical activity of a person or persons than to abstract objects simply in the neuter and having no connection with persons, while the word following which means 'of-these-two' positively, or at least most probably, refers to 'the two persons'; as the same word does in strophe 5. We are therefore constrained to defend the first and natural interpretation however suspiciously 'fine' it may be; it is actually well possible that the 'two spirits' were the 'two-things' 'or entities', i. e. 'principles', or 'forces', not 'persons' a better and an evil one, of-which-two-[-persons] (who were also possibly 'these two things') let the-well-intentioned choose aright'. Or some escape from the profounder view might be afforded if the two words 'a better and an evil' could be taken as if they were meant to be adverbially understood, 'the two spirits were announced in a better-sense and in-an-evil sense [according to their natures]'; this would remove the justly dreaded 'finesses' somewhat from the thought; yet 'in thought, in word, and in deed' are in themselves expressions quite as 'abstract' and profound as it is possible to use; and even if they merely mean 'as to thought, as to word, and as to deed', this would not alter the fact as to the depth expressed in them. We can in no way whatsoever avoid, or escape, the profound and subtle distinctions here; and if they are positively and beyond all doubt present here, they may be present often elsewhere, and they may even *work* everywhere. But for comparative theology the fact remains that two original spirits are mentioned, that they represented, or that they were, a better and an evil thing, not 'beings', but 'principles', 'things'; and between these two the well-disposed are urged to choose aright. Here I may say once more at this important place what might be repeated at every turn, which is that, incredible as it may appear, verbatim Latin or Sanskrit translations of this strophe could only differ from each other seriously as to two words, neither of which affect the main result; see the Latin in my Gāthas at the place.

4. 'Also when these two-spirits came-together-at-first-to-make (b) both life and non-life, and how the world [or 'people'] shall-be-at-last, (c) the worst [life] of-the-evil-[infidels] and the-best mind (probably here a name for heaven) for-the-saintly-believer'.

Given a received text, no rational verbatim renderings could possibly be made here which differed save as to the choice of synonyms; as is seen, I regard the 'worst' in line *c* as referring to the word 'life' or 'world' which immediately precedes it, also agreeing with it in gender, number, and also in case (with several good Mss.); if the worst 'life' of the 'evil infidels' was meant, and if 'how life shall be at the last' immediately precedes, then 'the worst life of the evil infidels' naturally refers also to their life at 'the last', i. e. in a future state; the words then, in that case afford a good description of 'Hell', more especially as the word 'best' in 'the best mind for the holy' naturally suggested the later name for Heaven which was 'the best', the Persian *bahisht*. Also the 'good mind' in strophe Y. 28,8 describes a distant period pervaded by the 'good mind', and this also suggests 'millennial paradise' or 'Heaven'.

But theologians had of course better not use my opinion here on this verse alone to prove an intellectual element in the experiences of the future state, as the subjectivity of rewards and punishments is proved elsewhere in a manner beyond all dispute, while it is only corroborated here; that is to say, I recommend all to refrain from following me here except such as can read the simple place for themselves, and so follow my argument.

5. 'Of-these-two-spirits [he] who [was] evil chose-to-himself [i. e. 'made-a-choice'], perpetrating [in so doing] the-worst-things, (b) but the-most-bountiful [others 'the most holy'] spirit [chose-to-himself] asha [the sanctity of the law, the most bountiful spirit] who clothes-on-himself the-most-firm stones [-of-heaven (the stoney-heavens), (c) and he chose also those] who will-content Ahura, Mazda with-veritable actions piously [or 'believingly' done]. No vital differences of opinion exist here as to the roots, and hardly any as to the forms; the Latin verbatim at p. 42, Gâthas, is well nigh the only possible Latin rendering which could be made; no modern expert doubts the substance of what is said, or the main points.

6. This important stanza is again perfectly clear both as to its literal terms and its point, though some differences exist as to the joining of the grammatical forms: 'Of-these-two-spirits, [i. e. 'between them', as in strophe 4] the daeva-demons-of-whatsoever-character [perhaps also meaning 'their worshippers'] may not discern aright, since to-them deception came, (b) [as they were]

questioning, when [or 'since'] they₂-chose₂-to-themselves the-worst-mind; (c) thereupon to-Aeshma[-the-fury-of-rapine, the-raid-demon] they-ran-together whereby they-would-destroy the-life of-man'. One cannot be certain whether the word rendered 'deceit' is subject or object, and the same thing may be said with reference to 'the worst mind'; 'the deceit (nominative) coming upon the-consulting ones', or (accusative) 'since to them discussing a deceit, the worst mind came, since they had chosen it to themselves', [or 'that he might be chosen (middle for passive)']'. Then again we might render 'to the demon of rapine whereby men (nom. pl.) destroy life they-rushed-together'; no variation in the rendering however can disturb the deeply interesting results.

7. Considerable difference of opinion exists as to the qualifying expressions here, although the advent of a helper endowed with power, benevolent thought, and righteousness is plainly mentioned as giving a 'body'; see commentary pp. 442—443 for the various views. With the great majority the rendering is substantially the same; the chief divergencies came from a great scholar who was fond of inventing renderings strikingly at variance with predecessors and without exhaustive examination of the Asiatic commentaries, for which he had not time, Zend being with him a secondary matter: 'To-us [or 'to-this-one' as representing 'us'] came then [a helper] with-the-sovereign-power [Khshathra], with-the-good mind [Volu manah], and with-Asha [the-sanctity of the law]; (b) thereupon the-continuing [or 'eternal' (so elsewhere)] Aramaiti [the-one-endowed-with-the-alert-and-ready-mind-to-act] gave a-body [she] the-unbending*, [or 'the-one-pressing-on*']; (or it may possibly mean; 'A. gave the powerful body'); (c) in-the-case-of-[or 'near-by']-these [-events] may-she-be for-Thee as Thou did'st-proceed [at] the first with-[Thy]-creations'; Latin verbatims could only possibly differ as to three words, see p. 46 of the Gâthas.

8. Not a single word here presents any difficulty, and while the cast of the rendering may be varied, the Latin verbatim (see pp. 46—47) could only vary in a slight degree: 'And when the-vengeance of-[i. e. upon]-these malefactors [see strophe 6] comes; (b) thereupon, O-Mazda, for-Thee the-sovereign-power shall-be-obtained by-the-good mind [in the believer]; (c) to-these it-declares-itself [or 'is declared'] who will-deliver the-Druj(k) [the-demon-of-the-harmful-lie] to-Asha into-[his]-two-hands'.

9. Considerable differences in opinion exist as to the cast of line *c* and also concerning the latter half of line *b*; my verbatim in English would be: 'And those, [i. e. 'those-like' i. e. 'such'] may-we-be who will-make the-world progressing-[facing-forwards-toward-completion, (b) we as] ahuras, [i. e. 'lords'] of-Mazda'. So far this fine idea is not marred by the slightly differing casts; all would agree on the main point; but words here follow which I render] 'in-kindly-assistance bearing-[offering] and [and guided] by asha [as-the sanctity of the law]; (c) since there the-thoughts will-be where wisdom will-be at-home, [i. e. where she abides as propitious]'. Others, following a master, render this last line: 'since one may be accordant-in-mind where the understanding was perverted'; see for Latin verbatim, etc. Gâthas pp. 48, 49, 444 fig.; the great thought of all is however undisputed; it is a prayer that we may all bring on a moral-religious reformation of the world. But the differences in opinion on line *c* render it advisable not to depend upon that line only for the substantiation of any decisive argument.

10. Here once more again we have plain sailing in a very interesting strophe: 'For then down, [i. e. 'down-falling'] becomes the-blow of-destruction of-[that is 'upon']-the-Druj(k) [the-demon of the harmful lie], (b) but the-most-swift-ones they-hasten, [or 'they will assemble'] 'to', [or 'at']-the good-abode of-the-Good Mind, (c) of-Mazda, and of-Asha; [they] who are-going-on [or 'are-generated(?)'] in-good fame'. No radical differences are possible here, and whether the righteous 'join in the good abode' [or 'hasten thither'], comes to about the same thing, and so do the meanings 'are produced', or 'are progressing', in good fame.

11. So also here; save as to two difficult words which belong together, only a hypercritical objector could make difficulty; and the two genuine *cruces* referred to are susceptible of excellent explanations; or indeed, their explanations might be totally omitted, as they are distinctly supplementary: 'When these doctrines [perhaps 'these-two-doctrines' (concerning 'the two-spirits'))] ye-learn which Mazda gave, O-ye-men, (b) as-to-prosperity* or adversity*, and when long [is] the-wounding for-the-evil-infidel, (c) and advantages shall-be for-those-devoted-to-the-law [the-saints], then upon, [i. e. 'after'] these-[things] shall-be *ushtâ* [the-hail-of-salvation, lit. 'the hail 'in-the-wished-for-(beatitude)-[be-they;']']'.

YASNA XLV.

the doctrine of dualism once more; homage to Ahura.

Fewer traces of a fragmentary condition appear here than are apparent elsewhere. The piece recalls Y. XXX, and appears like it to belong to an interval of comparative political rest looking back upon a struggle, as Y. XXX looked forward to one.

An assembly is addressed as in Y. XXX, but this time as 'coming from near and from afar'; it may very possibly have been the winning side in the late struggle. A powerful adversary had just been crushed, the evil teacher, or idolatrous leader, of Y. XXXII, 9; the battle may have been that alluded to in Y. XLIV, 15, 16, and possibly in Y. LI, 9, 10; see also the fierce Y. XXXI, 18. Strophe 1 sounds like a congratulation. The piece was sung or shouted to a multitude whose outskirts were by no means within easy reach of the voice; attention is summoned with three differing expressions, 'awake your ears to the sound', literally 'sound ye'; 'let the sound peal in your ears', then 'listen', then 'ponder'; 'the anti-zarathushtra, the evil teacher par-eminence has been defeated', he declares; 'and he will never again destroy the peace of our lives (Y. XXXII, 9, 11)'; 'his evil creed has been silenced and his tongue can no longer shout forth its periods of persuasion or invective (Y. XXXI, 12) beside our preachers'.

2. 'The foul evils of society' so he implies reiterating Y. XXX, 'do not lie within the control of the holy Ahura, either as originator or controller; they are, on the contrary, the product of the personified anger of the daevas, the '*mainyu*' in its evil sense, the assaulting harmful *mainyu*'; 'between this being, or personified abstraction, and Ahura there is a gulf fixed' The defeated 'errorist' may have been a heretic on exactly this feature; he may have believed, as Isaiah did, that the 'Almighty made evil'.

3. The composer at once urges the acceptance of his views, and uses threats to enforce his appeal. 4. Proceeding in a happier vein he dwells upon the fatherhood of God; 5. returning once more to the *mantra*, he holds forth the prospect of 'healthful weal and deathless-long-life' as rewards for adherence; 6. from this on, after admonition, he speaks of worship, etc.



YASNA XLV.

The two original spirits and the faith; Ahura is worshipped.

Thus forth I announcing speak; hear ye now listen,
Ye who from far have come, and ye from nearer,
For now think ye all aright; see ye all clearly;
Not twice shall false teacher life again ruin,
Nor infidel evil creed loudly profess¹.

Thus forth I announce to you life's first two spirits,
Of whom the more bounteous the evil accosted:
Never our thoughts, nor creeds, nor understandings,
Never our beliefs nor words, nor yet our actions,
Nor can our souls or faiths ever be one.

an invitation and a warning

Thus forth I announcing speak this life's first doctrine,
Which unto me the all-wise one declared;
They who to manthra's voice no action offer,
As I therein the same both think and utter,
Theirs shall this life's last end issue in woe!

a best one

Thus forth I announce to you this life's best leader,
Him his creator knows true from his honour;
Father of good men* he, the toilers' spirit;
So is his daughter through good deeds the zealous;
None can the Lord deceive; all things He guides.

¹ or 'the infidel is hemmed-in with his creed and his tongue'.

a word, and a reward

Thus forth I that word pronounce which Mazda told me,
That sacred word the best to mortals hearing;
Those who herein to me obedience offer
Come to immortal weal through works of goodness
Through their good spirit's deed; so saith the Lord.¹

the greatest

Him forth I announce to you of all the greatest,
While the benignant each with rites I worship;
Mazda Ahura hear with bounteous spirit,
In whose helped praise I asked questions with good mind;
With His best wisdom forth answer the Lord!

immortal weal

Whose helpful gifts let then offerers pray for,
Who now on earth abide, or shall hereafter;
Soul of the righteous seeks in life immortal
That lasting weal which yet brings sinners ruin;
All through His kingdom thus orders the Lord.

a spiritual vision

Him in our hymns of praise seek I to worship
Whom with discerning eye now see I clearly;
Of the good spirit lord, of word and action,
Knowing through Asha's grace Mazda Ahura;
Thus in Abode of Song praises I'll bear!²

¹ possibly 'on account of their good spirits' deed cometh (?) the word (or 'the Lord') [to reward them]'.
² or 'So I on high to Him praises shall bear'.

hope for land and herds

Him with our better mind seek I to honour,
Who kind hath cared for us | in weal or sorrow;¹
May Mazda hold our lands strong with His power,
Herds and our men in health thrifty to further;
From good men's* worth it was, a holy gift.

the benefactor adored

Thus in our yasnas all let us adore Him,
Who in his moving* might* is named the Lord;
Since with His kindly thought and law He setteth
Weal and the deathless life in His dominion,
To this land giving these eternal two!

the contemner of evil

He who the demons and | aliens despised,
Who their contempt as well | have flung upon him
Save² that befriended one | who hath revered him;
He through the prophet's faith, the Lord's of power,
Friend, brother, father, is, Mazda, of ours!

¹ or 'for weal and yet further weal'.

² or 'Far other they than he |'.



Y. 45. Word-for-word, etc.

1. A but little contested word-for-word would be: 'Thus-I will-speak-forth; now hear-ye; now listen, (b) [ye] who come both from-near, and [ye] also who [come] from-afar; (c) now do-ye-ponder all-things verily then clearly; (d) the-false-teacher shall-not the-second-time destroy the-people [or 'the world']; (e) the-infidel [is] closed-in with-[his]-evil belief and [his] tongue, [i. e. 'his utterance of his creed is restrained, while that creed itself is reprov'd; or, reading differently, 'he the-evil-infidel [while] 'professing' his evil creed with tongue, will not the second time destroy the people, or 'the world']'.

2. 'Thus I-will speak-[i. e. declare]-forth the-world's¹ first two-spirits, (b) of-whom the-more-bounteous [or 'more holy'] thus said [to the one] who [was] evil: (c) 'Our thoughts do not agree, nor do our doctrines-of-exhortation, nor [our] intelligences [perhaps meaning 'our laws'], (d) nor [our] choices [perhaps meaning 'our chosen articles-of-faith for our adherents']; nor [our] words [meaning 'hymns' (?), nor [our] deeds [of ceremony (?), or might], (e) nor [our] consciences; nor [our] souls [which sum up all]'.

3. 'Thus I-will-speak-forth-the-world's first [doctrine], (b) which the-intelligent Mazda Ahura declared; (c) [they] who of-you [or 'they who indeed!'] will not thus fulfil this manthra [word of religious thought' or 'holy hymn'], (d) as I both will think it and declare [it], (e) for-them shall the-last of-life be in-misery [or, still more literally, 'in depression', 'in down-ness' (sic)]'.

There is scarcely the shadow of a difference in opinion here; the word rendered 'of you' may be a degeneration from an original more like a word which means, 'alas', 'indeed'; but what sort of difficulty is this?; the words 'of you' are merely supplementary.

4. 'Thus I-will-speak-forth, [i. e. declare] this world's best [ruler]; (b) in-accordance-with-asha, [the law of justice and truth] Mazda Ahura knows [him, he] who established him (c) [as] the father of-the-toiling [possibly 'of the cattle-farming', 'working-in-stall's'] good-mind, [meaning 'of the good-minded and industrious citizen']; (d) so [is] his daughter Aramaiti [the-one-endowed-with-alert and-ready-attention and]-with-good-action; (e) Ahura [who is]

¹ I am not aware of any difference of opinion as to the roots or forms here present, but a great expositor, exercising his incomparable ingenuity, once suggested: 'I will announce the two spirits who were prior (?) to the word' (the same literal terms).

wishfully-watching all-things [is] not to-be-deceived' I am not aware of any serious difference in opinion as to the first meanings of the words in this strophe; but the word rendered 'knows' may be in the first person: 'I-know' for 'he-knows'; then one might suggest a change of text, and preferring 'the best [thing]' to 'the best [person]' might render: 'I know Mazda (also with further change of text), the father of the diligent good man who established it. Not to be deceived [is] Ahura present (?) to-all.'

This is a fair example fully illustrating what I have often asserted that no difference between rational renderings can often alter the religious tone in the Gâthas; as regards what we most value in them, it makes little difference whether we read here. 'I know', or 'he knows'.

5. 'Thus I-will-speak-forth what the-most-bountiful [or 'most holy'] told me; (b) hear (infin. for imper.) a-word, [or 'it is a word to-be-heard'] which [is] the-best for-mortals; (c) [they] who for-this offer me obedience and attention, (d) come on to-the-two, to-healthful-weal and deathless-long-life, (e) through-the-deeds-of-the-good spirit, [so said] Mazda Ahura'.

Every word here is simple and plain, but the syntax is deficient; and there is a choice between texts in the last two lines; with another text we may have: 'I will come upon them with health and long life on account of the deeds of the good spirit, I, Mazda Ahura'; but for the interests of comparative religion it is absolutely immaterial whether Ahura comes with gifts to the people, or whether they come to receive them.

6. 'Thus forth-I-will-announce the-greatest [being] of-all, (b) praising with-the-ritual (law), [I] who [am] doing-helpful-deeds [those] who are [likewise good-and-beneficent]; (c) let Mazda Ahura hear with-bountiful [or 'holy'] spirit (d) in-praise of-Whom I-asked-questions with-a-good-mind; (e) with-His wisdom let-Him-with-exhortations-teach me forth the-best [doctrines; or 'with His best wisdom let Him teach me']'.

Every word is simplicity itself again here as in many places; yet the syntax is meagre; some have rendered 'the greatest *thing*' rather than 'the greatest *person*' in the first line; but no twisting of the sense can alter the bulk of the sentiment. Whether the '*greatest being*' was proclaimed or 'the *greatest truth*', no competent reader will have lost what we most value in the words,

7. 'Whose benefits let the offerers desire-[in-their-prayers], (b) [those] who both then-indeed have-been-living and [those-who] are-to-be living, [lit. 'are-becoming [such]]' (but the intended sense may have been simply 'and who are [now living]'); (c) in-continuous deathlessness ['long-life'] the-soul-of-the-saint [is] desirous-and-seeking [those things (the benefits; see above)], (d) which [are] calamities to-evil-unbelieving men; (e) and these-two(?) [results] Mazda Ahura [is] establishing through [His] sovereign-power'.

The radical meanings here are undisputed save as to the possible alternative translation of the word rendered 'desirous' which some prefer to render 'fresh'. 'The saints soul is 'fresh' and delighted in immortality because there are woes for the wicked'; I take the three words 'benefits', 'which' and 'these' as related accusatives.

8. 'Him with our praises at [our] sacrifice-of-self-humbling-worship desiring-to-serve [am-I], (b) for now indeed in-the-eye I-discerningly-saw (have seen) Him [(seen Him-apart within-the-eye (so))], (c) [as lord] of-the-good spirit of-deed and-word [or 'as lord of-the-good-deed and-word of-the-good-spirit'], (d) [I] knowing through-Asha [the holy characteristic of-the-sanctified-intelligence, Him] who [is] Mazda Ahura; (e) so to-Him let-us-establish (set-down) praises-in-the-Abode-of-'Sublimity', or-'Song' [i. e. in-Heaven]'.
The words here are all of the simplest; some render *e* slightly varied 'may we make our songs reach the abode of praise'; there is no real difference, my rendering being the more literal.

9. 'Him with our good mind [I-¹am] desiring-to-propitiate, (b) who for-us willing will-go-to, [or 'control'] both [our] prosperity and adversity^{*1}, [i. e. Who, towards us being well-disposed, will control our weal, or woe]; (c) let Mazda Ahura establish the-peasantry* with [this] sovereign-authority [in our government], (d) [so as] to prosper our herds and [work-]men (e) through-the-effect-of-his-holy-law from-the-good-citizenship [or 'nobleness (good-birth' (so))] of-the-good-mind [in those people, i. e. 'of those good men']'.

¹ Two different renderings are suggested; first to abolish the antithesis between prosperity and adversity, reading 'may Ahura give us prosperity and still greater prosperity, or 'plenty and success'; so with some change of text; this would avoid a dangerously 'fine' thought, and then in the last line some prefer the final object held in view 'in order to produce in truth the intelligence of the good-minded man'.

10. 'Him with our Yasnas of-Aramaiti, [i. e. of devotion] desiring-to-magnify, (b) Who in-moving-power is-heard-of ['named', or 'famed'] [as] Ahura Mazda, (c) since He has in-accordance-with-His-holiness and His-good-mind set-by-his-assign (d) healthful-weal and deathless-long-life in-His-kingdom, (e) to-this-land giving^{*1} [those] two-continuous [or 'eternal'] powers'.

11. '[He] who therefore despised the-demon-gods and alien-men [foreigners(?)] (b) who despised him, (c) others than he who revered him [perhaps possibly in the full sense 'except him who revered him', is] (d) through, [or 'in accordance with^{*}'] the holy faith of-the-saviour-prince the-lord-of-power, (e) [our] friend, brother, and father, O-Ahura Mazda'.

The literal words here are all quite simple, save as to the fact that two words may be either in the nominative or in the instrumental.

Roth used to render the words which I for convenience translate 'saviour-prince' as if this Saviour were the person who despised the demons, and in accordance with the holy faith; he rendered 'this man's conscience is pure', as the word which I render 'the faith', 'the religion', literally 'the insight', sometimes means 'conscience', though it is the common name for 'the faith'. His rendering was very glib and simple: 'he who despised the demons and foreigners who despised him, this leading officer's conscience is clear; he is a true brother and father', [i. e. 'he is not to blame for despising those who despised him']; but literal Latin or Sanskrit translations could not vary one from each other, except as to the choice of synonyms.

¹ some prefer 'in-order-to-give'.



YASNA XLIV.

Strophes 1 and 2 seem like an introduction, but hardly give added emphasis to the fact that the following questions were rather expressions of devotion than appeals for knowledge; strophes 3—5 are especially so; 6 stands somewhat apart; 7—11 enter into details touching the moral and religious improvement of the people; 12—14 are polemical; 15, 16 are prophetic, etc. More closely; the composer beseeches of Ahura to speak to him in a manner characteristic of Himself, (2) asking how he may serve Ahura as the foremost one of Heaven; (see Y. 31, 8, and see also the use of the parsi word *vahisht*) for He had as guardian (see Y. 31, 13) held off destruction from all believing and repenting men. In 3 he dwells upon the rhythm of nature's laws as the creation of Ahura; in 4 on gravitation and atmospheric phenomena; especially the clouds attract his attention driven as they were by winds, not perhaps like the Marnts beyond the mountains, but still sublime in their oftentimes terrific violence; in 5 he dwells upon the satisfactions of energetic life, as upon the solaces of slumber, so following the key note of antithesis; in 6 he is seized with a doubt which again only heightens the fervour of his assurance; he asks whether indeed the facts which he proclaims are really what they seem; 6—11 require no attention here.

In 12 a differing key-note is struck. The sage challenges the believers to avow themselves. In 13 he arouses their zeal with fierce appeals; and this leads him (15) to the expected battle. Here he pauses in suspense as to which side will gain the upper hand. (16) And who shall be the champion? He wishes to know (17) when as the coming man, he can have that conference, in which, as in other desired consultations (Y. 33, 6), he may communicate more closely with Ahura. In 18 he asks for the honoured appointment of the sacrificers, and mentions the offering of horses and a camel, Persia being then noted for the horse, while camels appear

to have been familiar, for the word forms a part of Zarathushtra's name; in 19 he threatens the officials who might be tempted unjustly to withhold these honoured gifts for sacrifice. As a peroration in 20 he warns the wavering groups among the masses who still hesitate to call evil evil; and asks whether indeed the daeva-worshippers had ever been good rulers.

The piece from 12 on constitutes a religious war-song; these verses were hardly composed in the same breath with those which precede them. They stand in the closest connection with Y. 46. The formula: 'this ask I Thee' recalls Y. 33, 14; it would be very natural that a turn of words like this should have become stereotyped and be constantly brought in.



YASNA XLIV.

The works and worship of God.

This ask I Thee; | aright | Ahura, tell me,¹
 In praising Your¹ equal one¹ how shall I bow me?
 Mazda, to friend like me Thine² equal² teach it;
 Then give with Holiness,³ *còlabour friendly
 That with the Good Mind's grace Hè(?)⁴ may come near.

Thus ask I Thee; | aright | Ahura, tell me
 How that best world's chief Lord, serving, to honour,
 Pleasing, to worship Him who this⁵ requireth,
 For through the Right³ He holds ruin from all men,
 Guardian in spirit, the people's⁶ friend.

Thus ask I Thee; aright, Ahura, tell me,
 Who in production first was Asha's⁷ father?
 Who suns and stars save Thee their path hath given?
 Who thins the waning moon, or waxing filleth?
 This and still other works, Lord, would I know.

This ask I Thee; aright, Ahura, tell me;
 Who ever earth and sky from falling guardeth?
 Who hath save Thee brought forth rivers and forests?
 Who with the winds hath yoked racers⁸ to storm-clouds
 Who of the good man's grace ever was source?⁹

¹ I have here fallen into a cadence different from that used of this Gâtha elsewhere; but this may be an advantage, as we must vary our attempts to hit upon the original one.

² most probably merely a mode of saying 'You' or 'Thou'.

³ *asha* = *Rita*, the personified Holiness of the Law; with some 'Then give with *asha* chants friendly to aid us'.

⁴ he(?); was *Asha* meant, or is it again the oblique manner of saying 'Thou', or 'Thine equal'?

⁵ this service or hymn.

⁶ or 'for the lives' meaning 'the bodily and mental'; see my 'Gâthas', page 185, and Commentary, 523.

⁷ see y. 28, 2. *asha* is here more especially the rhythm of nature.

⁸ 'two', or 'a span of' swift ones yoked on to the moving clouds 'by the winds'.

⁹ 'who was the creator of the saint as filled or inspired by the Good Mind (the divine benevolence)'.

This ask I Thee; | aright | Ahura, tell me?
Who with skilled hand | the light | made, who the darkness?
Who with wise deed | hath giv'n | sleep or our waking?
Who hath Auroras spread, noontides and midnights?
Warning discerning man, duty's true guide.

passing doubts

This ask I Thee; aright, Ahura, tell me,
Are these in very deed truths which I utter?
Doth zeal¹ in our actions further Thy statutes
To Thine through Thy Good Mind the Realm² didst
Thou offer?²
Whose did'st Thou make the Kine mother³ to glad?

prayers for their relief

Thus ask I Thee; aright, Ahura, tell me;
Who in Thy kingdom hath set blest Devotion?
Who, wise, hath made dutiful son to the father? —;
With this for full knowledge, Mazda, I press Thee;
Giver of all Thou art, O Spirit kind!

for doctrine

This ask I Thee; aright, Ahura, tell me;
What is Thy doctrine's word to teach and ponder?
That I may ask Thine hymns filled with Thy Good Mind,
Those which through Truth reveal our tribes'⁴ perfection;
How can my soul advance?; let it thus be!

¹ aramaiti, like other words, must be differently translated to meet the needs of rhythm.

² the Holy Kingdom or 'Government', is given to the orthodox, but none the less really pious Zoroastrian.

³ the Herd-mother was the type of plenty to the diligent saint the typical husbandman.

⁴ or 'this world's'.

and ritual

This ask I Thee; aright, Ahura, tell me;
How more with solemn rite Faith's¹ creed to hallow,
Faith of the kindly realm by master taught us,
Full truths by Him²-like-Thee² | with lofty power,
Dwelling in blest abode with good men* Lord!

the core of the faith

This ask I Thee; aright, Ahura, tell me;
What is Thine Insight's¹ rule than all things better.
Give that our homes to bless with Right befriended;
Just deeds and rites to help with hymns devoted;
Thus would my wisdom's prayer entreat Thee, Lord.

methods and avowals

Thus ask I Thee; aright, Ahura, tell me;
How unto these of Yours Devotion³ cometh,
By whom for Thee, O Lord, Thy Faith¹ is uttered;
As Thine and first of these known am I, Mazda,
Aliens from Thee my soul with hate beholds.

the kindling of polemics, unmasking of enemies

This ask I Thee; aright, Ahura, tell me,
Who as to what I ask | is pure, or evil?
Which is the wicked's foe, or which the wicked?
He who Thy useful gifts as mine opposeth,
Wherefore is such an one not evil held?'⁴

¹ the state-religion, but none the less sincerely practised; literally, the 'Insight', or 'Conscience'.

² 'Thyself', or 'Thy servant'.

³ Âramaiti rendered by various terms, as its immediate meaning varies constantly.

⁴ parties seem to have been not so sharply defined.

strategy

This ask I Thee; aright, Ahura, tell me;
How hence the Lie¹ from us to drive and banish,
Hence to those souls beneath² who breathe rebellion?
Truth's³ friendly beam hath ne'er shed light upon them;
Questions of good men asked they never seek.

war, or civil war

This ask I Thee; aright, Ahura, tell me,
How in Thine Order's³ hands Falsehood¹ to fetter,
How through Thine anthem's word to slay her ever?
Faith's deadly blow to deal 'midst unbelievers;
To each deceiving foe for grief it comes.

suspense

This ask I Thee; aright, Ahura, tell me,
If against foes by Truth³ Thou guardest o'er me;
When in the deadly shock hosts dread are meeting
For⁴ creeds which Thou as Thine fain wouldest shelter,
Which of the two, and where, giv'st Thou the day?

for a leader

This ask I Thee; aright, Ahura, tell me;
Who smite victorious, guarding Thy doctrines?
Show me a folk-lord⁵ inspired with power;
Then come Obedience with Good Mind unto him,
Mazda, to whom Thou dost wish it see'er!

¹ the Demon of Treachery in war, or of Falsity in word and bargain, supposed to inspire the hostile party.

² to Hell, or, better, merely 'to the company of the utter outcasts and pronounced enemies'.

³ Asha.

⁴ each party struggling to get possession of the seal of orthodoxy, or possibly it may mean that the saintly party were inspired by the holy regulations and creeds.

⁵ see Yasna XXIX. 2.

arraigned

This ask I Thee; aright, Ahura, tell me;
How to Thy meeting, Lord, now shall I hasten?
That consummation Thine which brings my longing
That for the Chief should be Immortal Welfare,
Chief through Thy Manthra's word guiding aright.

threats to false rulers

This ask I Thee; with Truth, Ahura, tell me;
How through Thy Right for me that prize to merit,
Ten mares¹ male-mated, and | with them the camel?
Since it was shown to me for Deathless Welfare
How as Thine offering I both may give.

sacrifice in thank-offering

This ask I Thee; aright, Ahura, tell me;
Who from deserving men that prize withholdeth
Nor on truth-speaking² saint e'er hath bestowed it,
What as to this shall be his curse at present
Knowing, I ask it, well | his doom at last!

fruits of victory

Have such, thus ask I Thee, ruled well, O Mazda,
These who the Demons serve, aiding our foemen?
Through whom the Karp³ would seize blest herds in Rapine⁴,
Whence too the Kavian⁵ foul in strength hath prospered,
Bringing o'er pasture-lands no streams⁶ for Kine!⁶

¹ horses for sacrifice, see S. B. E. XXXI, 'at Y. 44, 18.

² orthodox and otherwise veracious.

³ hereditary foes.

⁴ the Demon of Invasion or Raid.

⁵ an hostile dynasty.

⁶ opposed to irrigation, and otherwise careless in agricultural enterprise, living by murderous raids; literally 'not showering'.



Y. 44. Word-for-word translation with explanations:

1. 'This I-ask Thee; tell me aright, O-Ahura; (b) in [the matter of] self-abasing-whorship toward-You how shall-I-bow-myself, (c) O-Mazda; let the-one-like-Thee, [that is to say, let Thyself (so)], declare it to-the-friend like-me; [that is, 'to me'], (d) thus through-asha, [i. e. 'through Thy-ritual-law', and 'with holy fidelity'] to-give us friendly co-operations, (e) so-that he [the-One-like-thee, (or 'Asha', or 'some other great benefactor')] may-come to-us together with-the-good-mind ['in himself', or 'in the willing persons whom he represents']. Much as interpretations may differ, even with the full intention to differ, opinions are almost wholly unanimous as to the roots here present and even as to the forms.

2. 'This ask-I Thee; aright, O-Ahura, tell me; (b, c) how in-pleasing to-be-of-use toward-the-first [chief] of-the-best-world-['on high'] Who has-sought-for these [services at our hands]; (d) for He, bountiful-in-holiness through-asha [this law of truth and exactness (e) as] a-guardian [is holding off] destruction from-all, a-truly-holy-friend¹ [as He is] in-regard-to-the-people, [or, 'for the lives (bodily and spiritual)'], O-Mazda'.

3. 'This ask-I Thee; tell me aright, O-Ahura; (b) who was the-first father of-asha [as the law of regularity in nature] in-[its]-generation, [that is to say 'in becoming its father']?; (c) who established the path of-the-suns and stars?; (d) who established [the law] whereby the-moon waxes and wanes, save-Thee? (e) These-things, O-Mazda, I-desire to-know and-others [also]'.

There is little, if any, difference in opinions as to the roots and forms here present.

4. 'This ask-I Thee; tell me aright, O-Ahura, (b) who indeed was-sustaining the-earth and-the-clouds from-under (c) from-falling?; who created the-waters and-the-plants?; (d) who yoked the-two-fleet-[ones] with-the-winds to-the-clouds?; (e) who [is] the-creator of-the-good-mind [within the soul of the faithful disciple; that is to say, 'who is the creator of the saintly man' (so probably)]?'.

¹ the difference between the renderings in line *c* seem great, but 'the friend' was 'for the people' in the holiest elements of their moral existence; and the original word is identical whether we render 'lives' or 'people'; in another place the same word in the dual number means the '(mental and bodily) lives'.

There is a again hardly a difference in opinion as to the roots and forms present here.

5. 'This ask-I Thee; tell me aright, O-Ahura, (b) who doing-good-work, [i. e. 'who skilful'] brought-forth the-lights and dark-nesses?; (c) who doing-good-work produced sleep and-the-zeal [of active life]?; (d) who [is producing that] through-which the-auroras, the mid-days, and the nights [recur], (e) which [as] monitors [admonish] the-enlightened [man who is enlightened] as-regards-his-duty'.

It is scarcely possibly for true experts to differ here as to the roots and forms.

6. 'This ask-I Thee; tell me aright, O-Ahura, (b) [as to the doctrines] which I-shall-enounce, if they [are] thus true; (c) does the-alert-and-ready-mind [of the worshipper] increase [the authority of] Asha [as the holy-truth-of-regularity-and-law] through-actions? (d) To-these [Thy people] didst-Thou-apportion the-sovereign-power by-means-of-the-good mind [inspired within them]?; (e) for-whom did'st-Thou-create the-Cow, the-producer-of-joy?; [was it not for Thy saints]?' The roots and forms are all practically obvious here.

7. 'This ask-I Thee, tell me aright, O-Ahura; (b) who has established the blest alert-and-ready-mind-for-action together-with-the-royal-government?; (c) who has-rendered the-son venerating toward-the-father through-[his]-education [or 'intelligence'] (?); (d) with-these [questions] I-press Thee, O-Mazda, for-full-knowledge, (e) O-spirit bountiful[-with-holiness], giver of-all-things!' All is again clear here.

8. 'This ask-I Thee; tell me, aright, O-Ahura; (b) what [is] Thy doctrine, O-Mazda, to-ponder-it-in-my-mind, (c) and-what [are] the-holy-words, [or 'hymns'] [which] I-asked [of-Thee inspired] by-the-good-mind; (d) and-what [holy-words-and-hymns are fitted] through-asha [the holy law] for-knowing [or 'acquiring'] the-active-promptness of-the-people [to obey?]; (e) by-what[-word guided and encouraged] may my soul advance in-, or 'with'-good [profit]?; let-it-go-on in-accordance-with-that¹[-word]'.¹

9. 'This ask-I-Thee; tell me aright, O-Ahura; (b) how shall-I-sanctify to-myself [yet more] the-Insight [of the faith] (c) which the-lord of-the-beneficent government may-teach-with-exhortation?;

¹ some writers accept a slightly different text for (e). 'How shall my soul proceed toward this good and reach it'.

(d) [he who is] possessor-of-Thee [or 'like 'Thee', 'Thy servant' proclaiming] the-laws by-means-of-sublime authority, (e) dwelling in-the-same-abode with-Asha [in Thy church] and with-the-good-mind [in the individual believer]'. All is of the simplest as to root and form here.

10. 'This ask-I Thee; tell me aright, O-Ahura, that insight [of-the-holy-faith] which [is] of-existing [creeds] the-best, (c) which causes my settlements to-prosper, going-on-hand-in-hand with-asha [here as the Archangel of Thy holy ritual and moral law] (d) establishes [our] actions in-justice-and-regularity by-means-of-the-[inspired-]-words, [or 'hymns'] of-the-alert-and-ready-mind [of the devoted]; (e) may the prayers (or 'desires') of-my intelligence desire Thee, O-Mazda!'

11. 'This ask-I Thee; tell me aright, O-Ahura; (b) how may Your alert-and-ready-mind-of-devotion come to-these, (c) [to those] by-whom, O-Mazda, Thine Insight [of-the-Faith] is-announced? (d) I [as] Thy [devoted servant] am-acknowledged first in-regard-to-these-things; (e) all others [alien-gods-and their worshippers] I-look-upon with-the-hate of-[my]-spirit'.

12. 'This ask-I Thee; tell me aright, O-Ahura; (b) who [is] holy [in-regard-to-the matters] concerning-which I-question [Thee]?; (c) or who [is] the-evil-heretic?; (c) against which-of-the-two [is] the-assailing²-evil-spirit?; or is he-himself the-harmful-evil [man]? (d) He who [as the] evil-religious-opposer comes against me [in the matter of Thy] blessings [for the land]; (e) how-may-it-be-[that] he [is] not thought [to be] this harmful-evil-one?'

13. 'This ask-I Thee; tell me aright, O-Ahura; (b) how shall I-drive-away the-lie-demon-of-the-foe from-us (c) to-those beneath who [are] full of-disobedient-disloyalty? (d) The-companions of-Asha [in Thy congregation] do not shed-light¹ upon-them, (e) nor have-they-desired [to consider] the-problems of-the-good mind [within the individual saint]'.
¹ some might render (d) 'who do not zealously strive after the right(?)'.

14. 'This ask-I Thee; tell me aright, O-Ahura; (b) how shall I-deliver the Druj(k)-the-harmful-lie-demon [-of-the-foe] to-Asha [as our holy army] into [his] two-hands, (c) to-kill [or 'smite'] her [down with deadly blow] by-the-holy-hymns of-Thy-doctrine?;

(d) to deliver a-mighty slaughter among-the-evil-religious-opponents [to their destruction], (e) that those treacherous [persons] and torturers may-perish, [or 'that they may not reach their ends.'¹]?

15. 'This ask-I Thee; tell me aright, O-Ahura; (b) if Thou dost-rule over-this [matter] to-protect me by-means-of-Asha [as Thy holy law], (c) when the-two-hosts full-of-hate¹ shall-meet [in battle], (d) on-account-of-those religious-rites which Thou-dost-desire-to-maintain, (e) where [that is to say, 'to which'] of-the-two wilt-Thou-give-the-desired-object, [victory and the possession of the authority to control the religious establishment and exercise its functions]?' ¹ still more literally, 'having displeasure'.

16. 'This ask-I Thee, tell me aright, O-Ahura; (b) who [is] smiting-with-victory [or 'who is fiend-smiting']?; who are [set] for-the-protection[of]Thy-doctrines?; (c) distinctly designate to-me an-establishing chief on-account-of-[i. e. 'for'] the-living [people]; (d) then may loyal-obedience [in the allies] come to-him together-with-the-good-mind [in the faithful individual citizen], (e) O-Mazda, to-him to-whom Thou-dost-wish [it] whosoever [he may be]!'

17. 'This ask-I Thee; tell me aright, O-Ahura, (b) how, O-Mazda, shall-I-proceed to-the-consultation with-You, (c) to-[that] -efficient-act[-of-consultation] [of] Yours, in-order-that my spoken-prayer* may-be-prospered, (d) that healthful-weal and (long)-deathlessness may-be² in-the-protecting-chieftainship² (e) through-that Manthra [or 'holy-hymn-of-reason'] which [is] possessing-guiding-power-in-accordance-with asha [as the holy law of ritual and truth]?'

18. 'This ask-I Thee; tell me aright, O-Ahura, (b) how shall-I, [acting in accordance] with-[Thy]-holy-law gain-for-myself this recompense, (c) the-ten stallions [mated]-with-mares-and-the-camel?; (d) I-ask Thee, since it-was-announced to-me O-Mazda, on-account-of-healthful-weal-and-[long]-deathlessness, how I³-should-offer these-two [different offerings] to-Thee³.'

¹ only the Latin or Sanskrit can exactly reproduce these forms; see Gâthas page 204, also 'Acts' of the last congress of orientologists at Paris.

² or 'that I may enjoy healthful-happiness and long-deathlessness . . .'; so Roth.

³ reading another text, it would be, 'how Thou dost give' these-two-prizes to these [Thy faithful adherents for the purpose of making the offering to Thee].'

19. 'This ask-I Thee; tell me aright, O-Ahura; (b) [he] who does not give this reward to-the-one-earning [it], (c) who verily does not give it to-this-truth-speaker, [i. e. to-this faithful-confessor-of-the-true-religion, ([or 'who does not receive it for him, i. e. for his benefit']), (d) what shall-be his punishment for-this [here] in-this earlier-[-time], [or in 'this first punishment']; (e) I-ask it, knowing that [punishment] which shall-be the-last on-account-of-this?'

20. 'Have indeed the-demon-worshippers been good-rulers?; (b) yea, verily I-ask it, who fight for-these (c) by-whom, [i. e. by whose aid] the Karp and the-Uçik have-taken the-Kine for-Aêshma, [the wrath-demon of the murder raid and 'greed of rapine'], (d) by-which-means-also the-Kavan['s folk] have-grown-strong in-incursive-vigour, (e) nor have-they-watered the-Kine in-accordance-with-asha [the exhortations of the law which maintained the irrigation] to-cause the-[holy]-pasture-land to-thrive!'



YASNA XLVI.

Personal sufferings, hopes, and appeals.

In treating this most valuable section we can as usual presuppose that the several strophes were not originally composed in the order in which they now appear.

Strophes 1—3 are a cry 'from the depths'; in 4 animosity appears; and an appeal to the energy of some of his warlike adherents seems to prove that, with 5 and 6, the composer addressed it to an assembly; 7—10 are questions and appeals to Ahura, but as a matter of course they were none the less intended to impress their first hearers as well as to animate the mind of the reciter himself; strophes 11 and 12 were again intended to be delivered to adherents; verse 13 is addressed to them in terms; strophes 14 and 15 seem to be in antithesis, to point a distinction; and the rest were evidently intended originally for a general assembly headed by groups of the leading chiefs.

I discard here as usual all attempt at an exact and mechanical reproduction of the metre or of its numbered syllables as not being adapted to English; see for this awkwardness Y. 47, 1—3 which is close in its likeness to the original.

Here I even allow the accent perhaps an unusual value as rendering a word of fewer syllables equal in sonant length to one much longer, or to two shorter ones.

And even the natural cadence when it is deepened by feeling seems to me to claim a similar concession. The section describes a part of a chequered but not a broken career. Reverses had been experienced; but the poet-prince determines on a rally; and he endeavours to encourage his friends by promises while he intimates his enemies with threats.



YASNA XLVI.

De profundis

To what land thall I turn?, where with my ritual go?¹
Of kinsmen, allies, or the mass
None to content their service offer me,
Nor have they yet who rule the province, evil,
How then to please Thee, Mazda, Lord!²

This know I, Mazda, wherefore foiled I wander
My flocks so small,³ and following so feeble;
To Thee in grief I cry, behold it, Master,
Thy grace vouchsafing me, as friend bestows on friend,
Showing with pureness Thy Good Mind's riches best.

hope

When come, Ahura, they the days' light-givers,
Stay of Thy people's Law, and onwards pressing,
Wise planning Saviours they with potent teaching?
To whom for help comes too the Good Mind's server?
Thee for my teacher Àhurà I seek.

denunciations

Who bear the Law, these saints the faithless foeman⁴
From wealth of Herds doth hold with evil power;
By his own deeds he cheats his folk of weal;
Who him from life and rule shall hurl expelling,
Fields for the Kine with prospered skill he spreads.

¹ the later Zoroastrianism not inaptly takes these words, which have become sacrosanct, as the first chant of every departed soul. It (the soul) takes its place near the head of the deceased and utters them.

² his innovations, while they help to compact his party, just in that proportion infuriate his opposition.

³ flocks and herds were commissariat as well as property.

⁴ the chief of the Dæva-party.

He who as ruler helps not that assailant,
In our religion's creed and treaties faithful,
In the right living, may he, pure, to sinners,
Aright to prince with threat give warning,
"In rising crush they him, O Mazda Lord!"¹

Who having power doth not thus approach him²
To the Lie-demon's home in chains will go;
The wicked's friend is he and likewise wicked,
But righteous he who loves the righteous,
Since the primeval laws Thou gavest, Lord.

the only help

Whom then as guard to save us will they set me
When as his aim for harm the wicked marks?
Whom have I then but Thee, Thy Fire, and Meaning?
By deeds of whom* Thou shieldest Right, Ahura;
To me this wonder-power for faith declare.

revenge

He who my settlements to harm hath given
Ne'er may his burning wrath through deeds destroy.
In hate to him come that which weal opposeth,
That to his body comes which holds from blessing,
May naught from vengeful wrath deliver, Lord!

¹ see Gâthas, p. 550 for alternatives to this most difficult verse;
see also *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXXI, p. 135.

² 'approach him to warn, or approach *us* to help'; see Gâthas,
p. 553.

contrast

Who is the offerer who heeds me foremost
How in our rites to praise Thee, well to be invoked?
Pure for Thou art above us, great Ahura.
What Thine through Right declared the Herd's creator
That seek Thy saints as my blest message, Lord.

appeal and promise

Who e'er, to me, be it or man, or woman,
Our tribes gift gives which Thou the best perceivest,
Prize for the holy gives with Good Mind's ruling,
Whom, praising You, I urge as comrade leading,
Forth to the Judge's Bridge¹ with all I go!

a curse

Karps,² yea, and Kavis² are with foul kings joining,
Deeds which ere evil with, man's life to slay;
Cursed by their souls and selves, their being's nature,
From Judgment's Bridge they fall, the final pathway,
In Demon's Home at last their bodies³ lie!

a brighter side

When Right-inspired and 'midst Tura's⁴ kinsmen
Come from Fryana forth 'midst those illustrious
They who Devotion's lands with Zeal are helping
With these together God through Good Mind dwelleth,
To them in helpful grace commanding speaks.

¹ the Chinvat Bridge which extended from Mt. Alborj over Hell toward Heaven; to the infidels and sinners it becomes narrow so that they fall; but it becomes wide as nine javelins' length to the righteous (so the later Zoroastrianism).

² hostile parties.

³ or 'their habitation is.'

⁴ border Turanian allies.

Who Zarathushtra gifts 'midst men vouchsafeth
Righteous is he himself 'midst men declared;
Life upon him bestows the Lord Ahura,
Farius that are his promotes with Good Mind helping;
Comrade for you through Right we think him meet.

a voice from the throng¹

Whom hast Thou thus, O Zarathushtra, righteous?
Who seeks distinction in our holy toils?
'Tis he himself, heroic Vishtâsp Kavâ²;
Whom in the same abode Thou, Lord, shalt gather.
These in the words of Good Mind I invoke!

a group addressed

To you I speak, O Haecchat-aspa, kinsmen,
Since things unlawful ye discern and lawful;
By these your deeds ye help the holy State
With the primeval laws which Mazda gave;³

Come, Frashaostra thou with offerers, Hvogva!
With those we seek to bring this land's salvation;
Come where Devotion blends with Holy Justice,⁴
Where lie the Realms desired of good men,
Where God in His own might⁵ abides,

¹ poetical conception, or, as in modern writings, a merely rhetorical expression.

² the King.

³ a line is, curiously, missing here.

⁴ Asha, or the sacrosanct Law.

⁵ see Gáthas, p. 561: possibly 'in His chosen Home,' or 'citadel.'

Where I in holiest metre chant the doctrines;¹
Never the measureless profane I'll utter;
Praise with Obedience and with gifts I offer;
Who severs keenly each the false and lawful
May He with wondrous Holiness² give heed!³

rewards here

Who sanctity to me concedes for blessing
Him of my wealth give I through Good Mind best;
Griefs upon him I send who sends oppressions;
Aright, O Lord, I seek your will to gladden,
This is mine understanding's choice and aim.

and on high

Who from the Right for me true welfare worketh,
For Zarathushtra help most wished and mighty,
Him give I the reward this earth beyond
With all mind-blessings gained through holy pasture;
These teaching me, O Lord, art Thou most wise³!

¹ metre sacred as in the Veda.

² Asha, or the sacrosanct Law.

³ see Gáthas, and S. B. E. XXXI at the place.



Y. 46. Word-for-word rendering with popular remarks.

1. 'Toward-what land may-I-turn' (or 'praise') whither turning [or 'humbling-myself-in-praise'] shall-I-go; (b) for-the-sake-of kinsman-[prince] and of-allied-friend (c) not even [they] who [are] the-village-farm-populations offer me [any contribution] consoling me; [not...], such-an-one even^{*1}; (d) nor [do they] who [are] the-evil-infidel tyrants of-the-provinces; (e) how shall-I-propitiate Thee, [i. e. establish Thy worship], O-Mazda Ahura'?

2. 'I-know this wherefore [meaning 'that'] I-am, O-Mazda, a-man-without-his-wish, [i. e. 'foiled'] (b) through-my scantiness-in-flocks, [that is to say 'through my need of the means of support for my forces'], and since also I-am a-few-men-possessor (so), [i. e. since I am in command of but a small number of men]; (c) I-ery-with-[tearful]-complaint to-Thee; behold it, Ahura; (d) [I cry] seeking gracious-assistance as friend might-bestow on-friend; (e) may'st-Thou-teach^{*2} me through-asha [as Thy holy law what are] the-riches of-the-good mind [in Thy saints]'.

3. 'When, O-Mazda, [are those] who [are] the-enlighteners of-the-days, [or the 'increasers' of the (blessings which fill the happy) days of light] pressing forward; (b) when] shall-they-be-pressing-forward for-the-maintaining of-asha [as the holy-law] of-the-people, [they] the-intelligent-arrangers (c) with-the-sublime teachings of-those-about-to-bless-and-prosper-[us, i. e. of-the-prophet-princes]; (d) to-whom for-help* shall-he-come [who is endowed] with-the-good mind; (e) for-myself-I-choose Thee for-my-commanding-instructor, O-Ahura.'

4. 'But the-evil-enemy is-holding-back those who [are] the-maintainers of-asha [as our holy-State] from-the-continued-progress [of prosperity] (b) [in-the-matter-]of-cattle, or of-the-village[-population], or of-the-province, [that is to say 'from progress in the

^{*1} Or, reading differently with the old Asiatic Commentary; 'nor do they who [are] the 'companion-(peasantry)'. The word here involved, though difficult is entirely subordinate; and all agree on the main sense throughout, 'though other subordinate differences in opinion occur.

^{*2} My great friend, the late Professor Roth, used to render: 'hear the prayer of the good man', but ashâ seems more naturally to qualify the word as meaning 'teaching'; thus: 'teaching through Thy law'; but either view expresses a thought familiar to the Avesta.

matter of-agriculture, whether belonging to the village, or the province'], (c) being an-invoker-of-evil[-demons] defrauding-the-people by-his-own-violent[-evil]-actions, [possibly, but hardly probably 'with his [evil] rites']; (d) [he] who smites him, O-Mazda, from-the-kingdom and also from- [the common intercourse of]-life, (e) he-himself will-go-forth on-the-paths of-wise-skill of-the-herd, [i. e. 'he will be doing an indispensable thing toward the maintenance of our means of existence as a pastoral people']¹.

5. '[He] who either as-a-[person]-ruling, [i. e. 'in the supreme authority', and] not-giving*¹ [aid to that evil-foe who is] coming with-a-shattering-[blow against our agricultural civilisation], (b) a true-citizen* of-[i. e. 'as to']-religious-duty, or [secular] covenants, (c, d), living in-justice; [he-] who being a-holy-saint [is]-distinguishing [the true character of] the-evil-oponent [of our religion] let-him-tell forth indeed this to-the-kinsman, [i. e. 'to the prince of the blood royal']; (e) 'let-them-arouse' (an infinitive for an imperative), or 'in-arising-up', [i. e. in revolting] let-one-[i. e. 'let-them']-crush that [tyrant chief], O-Mazda Ahura'.

6. 'But [he] who will not [thus] approach that [evil] coming-one, [i. e. the assailant as] a-man possessing-power, [i. e. 'as having the upper hand of him', 'having him in his power'], (b) he-himself will-go into-the-house of-the-Druj(k), [the harmful demon of the lie], of-the-enchainer*², (c) for he-himself [is] an-evil-opponent who [is] a-best-[friend] to-the-evil-foe, (d) [and] he-himself. [is] a-true-worshipper, to-whom the-true-worshipper [is] a-friend, (e) since Thou-did'st-create the-primeval consciences-in-souls, [or 'the primeval laws'], O-Ahura'.

7. 'Whom, O-Mazda, will-he-set [as] guard for-the-one-like-me, (b) when the-evil-adversary will-hold-[me]-firm [or 'mark me'] for-[his]-assaulting-hate, (c) other than-Thy fire and [Thy] mind, (d) by whose mighty-deed [of ceremonial (?) and moral action] asha [as the holy constitution] is-protected, O-Ahura; (e) to-me [this] wonder-

^{*1} or, 'not treating [the poor man] who comes to him, with severity'. Another text may mean 'treating the assailant with shattering-resistance'. The great difficulties here resolve themselves practically into this; we have either a person indicated 'who treats the evil with severity', or one 'who does not give him aid'.

^{*2} the strophe presents no difficulties save as to subordinate detail; there would be doubt as to whom the 'coming-one' exactly refers; also we might suggest a change in the text to a word meaning 'terrifier' for 'enchainer'; such differences do not affect our present results.

power declare-forth for my-soul [or 'for the defence and propogation of the holy-faith'].

The possible differences in opinion here are quite immaterial to the practical result.

8. '[He] who [on the contrary] delivers [those] which [are] my settlements to-aeshma-the-incursive-hatred [of the raiding foe], (b) let not his torch, [or 'devouring-arson-fury'] reach me with-[its]-deeds [of devastation]; — (c) on-the-contrary, [or 'as opposing (him)'] may these evil [influences, the same 'torch of arson' (?), etc.] come to-him in-hate; (d) [may those maladies come] to-[his]-body [which may-keep him from-happy-life, [i. e. 'from health', or 'well-being']; (e) [may] not those certain-ones [whichever-they-may-be come to-him], which keep him from-evil-[experience-of]-life [from disease, or misery, and this] with-hate, O-Mazda'. 'There is little serious difference in opinion here.

9. 'Who [is] he who [as] a liberal-helper will-heed me¹ [he as the] foremost [one], (b) how [or 'that'] we-may-magnify Thee [as-the-one] most-to-be-invoked, (c) in-[very]-deed [of might and truth] [as] the-bountiful-and-holy* Lord; (d) what [words] for-Thee through-asha [as the holiness of the law] the-kin's creator spoke, (e) these [words] they-are-seeking² from-me [or 'as mine', animated] by 'Thy good mind'.

10. '[The one] who, O-Mazda Ahura, or man, or woman, (b) shall-give what [things] Thou dost-know [to be] the-best-[things] of-life, [or 'of-the-people'], (c) an-holy-recompense to-the-holy [this one gives even] the-governing-authority through-[the assistance of]-the-good mind [in Thy disciple]; (d) and [those souls] whom I-will-urge-on to-the-praise of-those-like-You, [i. e. 'to Your praise'], (e) forth with-these all to-the-Bridge of-the-sifting(-Judge) will-I-go-on'.

11. 'The-Karpans and the-Kavis will-join with-tyrants* (b) with-evil deeds to-slay the-human-life [of our countrymen], (c) whom their-own soul and-their-own conscience will-shriek-at (d) when they-shall-come where the-Bridge of-the-sifting (-Judge) [ex-

¹ or possibly 'which instructs* me as the foremost [means of communication from You]'.
² or 'these instructions impel me [toward them through [the inspiration] of Thy good mind'; (serious differences for experts).

tends]; (e) for-all-duration [forever] in-the-home of the Druj(k) [the harmful demon of the lie shall their] bodies [lie, or 'their habitations be']¹.

12. 'When amidst-the-kinsmen and-amidst-the-races, (b) of-the-Tura [there] shall-arise among-the-more-renowned of-the-Fryânae, [i. e. 'the Friendlies' (c) those] furthering, [i. e. 'who further'] the-settlements of-Âramaiti, [i. e. 'of our alert and devoted typical citizen'] with-energetic-skillful-zeal, (d) then these Ahura Mazda will-mingle, [i. e. 'cause-to-meet'] with-[his]-benevolent intention [embodied in his own chosen people; i. e. 'he causes them to meet with his good people']; (e) and to-them for-helpful-grace Mazda Ahura utters-his-encouraging-commands, [or 'is declared', i. e. 'declares Himself']².

13. (a, b) [He] who conciliates-to-himself [the respect and gratitude of] Zarathushtra Spitâma with-a-liberal-offering (b) [is] himself a-man fit for-the-hearing-forth¹ (sic), [i. e. to be renowned] among-[our faithful]-men; (c) and to-him Mazda Ahura will-give life [or 'the people'], (d) and will-cause the-settlements to-thrive through-good mind, [i. e. through His-divine-benevolence in the faithful citizen]; (e) him we-think in-truth* Your good-ally².

14. 'Who [is] to-thee, O-Zarathushtra, a-saintly true-friend [in the faith] (b) for-the-great Maga, [i. e. 'for the effort-of-the-Cause']?; - or who-wishes for-the-'hearing-forth', [i. e. 'to-be-renowned']²? (c) Yea, [it is] he-himself Kavan Vishtâspa the-heroic; (d) [those] whom Thou-shalt-commingle in-the-same-abode, O-Ahura Mazda, (e) those will-I-invoke with-the-hymns of-[or 'inspired by' Thy]-good mind, [possibly meaning 'of the good man']³.

15. 'To-you, O-[ye]-Hacchaŋ-aspa Spitamas I-will-[now]-speak, (b) since ye-thoroughly-distinguish-between-the-lawful³ and unlawful³; (e) by-these your mighty-deeds ye-maintain asha, [as the holy law within the community], (d) in-accordance-with-what [were] the-primeval laws of-Ahura³.

¹ it is always possible that the word thus rendered means 'to proclaim' 'to make-hear', rather than 'to-hear'; if so we should have 'fit to proclaim the doctrines of the religion', an idea also like that expressed above, and very consonant with gâthic ideas.

² it is again possible that the meaning may be 'to proclaim the holy faith'; but the rendering above is more probable as being more egoistic, and in so much less 'fine'.

³ Roth suggested, I believe, 'between the true and false gift'.

16. 'O-Frashaoshtra come-thou here with-the-liberal-helpers, (b) Hvogva, with-those whom we-two-desire as an 'ushitâ' [a salvation-hail, '[(be ye) in-the-wished-for (beatitude)]]' for-the-land; (c) [come-thou where Aramaiti [the alert devotion of action] goes-on-hand-in-hand with-Asha [the spirit of truth, equity and justice], (d) where the-sovereign-power [of the government] is in-the-possession of-the-good-mind [in the typical saint], (e) where Ahura Mazda abides in-beatific-power¹].

17. '[Come] where I-will-pronounce the-praise for-You in-metred-verse, (b) not in-unmetred[lines], O-Jâmâspa Hvôgva. (c) [Yea] praises always with-a-recognised obedience [in the matter] of-offering; (d) and[may]-[Mazda Ahura] who will-distinguish-between the true² and false-offering² (e)-give-heed** with-[his]-wonder-working asha [as the-law-of-justice]'. ** or 'with wondrous thought' (sic).

18. '[He] who concedes a-divine-office to-me, to-him would-there-be the-best [of blessings here and on high], (b) [to him a share] of-my-wealth will-I-assign with-a-good disposition, (c) [but] torments upon-him would-I-set who [is] for-us a-tormenting-oppressor, (d) O-Mazda and Asha, [I] striving-to-satisfy Your desire; (e) this [is] the-discriminating-decision of-my understanding and-of-[my]-intention'.

19. '[He] who in-accordance-with asha [as the truth and justice of the law] shall verily do for me, (b) Zarathushtra what [is] most-promotive [for the Cause] in-accordance-with-[my*]-desire, (c) for-him they-are-acquiring³ the-reward belonging-to-the-life-beyond**, (d) with-all [other advantages] known to-the-mind on-account-of-the-mother Cow, [that is to say, 'on account of the holy herds, the support of the nation']; (e) these-things even, [or 'these-things-and-such-like'] may'st-Thou-reveal to-me, O-Mazda, [since] Thou [art] the-most-cognisant [of all]'. ** or 'exalted beyond life'.

¹ the exact meaning of this qualifying word is not certain; it may be 'in-the-chosen-or-'endear'd'-home; so I have elsewhere rendered.

² or 'the legal and illegal' see Gâthas pp. 274, 563.

³ or (with a different text) 'giving'.



YASNA XLVII.

As in every instance, valuable strophes may have fallen out here and there from this piece; but such losses do not affect the value of what remains (sometimes indeed they may improve its rhetorical effect). The *spēnta mainyu* here is not identical with Ahura, but it is, as so often, His spirit, whatever precisely this expression may mean. It is well possible that the memorable application of the word 'spenta' to the Seven, giving us the 'Amesha Spenta' derives its origin from the first strophe here, or from others to the same effect which have now been lost: this commanding word further attracted attention in so far that it became the theme for a play upon words at Visparad XIX (see S.B.E. XXXI, p. 350). While we should not say that the 'bountiful spirit' here was directly connected with the idea of the 'Holy Spirit in the Old and New Testament scriptures; it is still quite probable that the 'seven angels' of the book of Tobit (which book also mentions the Zoroastrian city of Rae (so) and the gâthic demon Aeshma-dacva, i. e. Azmodeus) are an echo of the widespread Zoroastrian idea which is expressed, as in other places, here. By the exercise of the characteristic of His bountiful, or, as with some, of 'His holy', spirit. Ahura Mazda bestows a gift upon the ideal saint (strophes 4, 5) upon him who works the best results for Zarathushtra (Y. XLVI, 19), the ruler and the prophet (Y. XXIX, 6, 8; and this gift is declared to be the 'inseparable two', happiness in every particular, and then both the prospect and realisation of the continuance of that happiness in a prolonged life here upon earth which merges over to that life in the spirit world to which allusion is so plentifully made throughout the Gâthas. And these He bestows, not through His immediate action which no human intellect or susceptibility could take in unaided, but by His especially revealed benevolence His, Best Mind as His representative,

in accordance with His plan of order and purity pervading every moral as well as every spiritual regulation, and by the exercise of His royal power sent forth as the archangel Khshathra and embodied in the polity of the sacred Zarathushtrian State. And this as influenced in all its relations by practical piety called *âramaiti*, Ahura's daughter (the alert and ready mind). From this the composer proceeds as he falls into details.



THE FIRST GROUP OF STROPHES IN THE GĀTHA
SPĒŃTA MAINYU, YASNA XLVII.

An epitome.

the gift.

By His Blest Spirit moved and Mind¹ the Better,
Through Holiness¹ revealed in words and actions,
Immortal¹ Weal¹ to us² Ahura giveth
Mazda through Power¹ and Devotion¹ master³.

That gift, the best of His most bounteous Spirit,
With hymns from tongue of Good Mind uttered
May he with Zealous hands complete,
Father of Right through wisdom, Mazda.

the herd.

Of this blest Spirit art Thou thus the bounteous
Who to this⁴ saint the joyous Herd hath given;
With peaceful fields for them⁵ grant him⁴ Devotion,
Since he had counselled with Thy good men⁶, Mazda.

the struggle.

By that Blest Spirit curst false foes are wounded
By Mazda's bounteous One, not thus the saints;
Though feeble men alone here serve the faithful,
And foemen rich in might help sinners on.

¹ the Ameshaspendis (Amshasponds) are grouped in this verse in a manner which seems to me somewhat artificial; and for that reason I have supposed it to be the work of some disciple of the great Prophet; but whether original or a contemporaneous imitation, it makes an excellent epitome to more extended pieces.

² or 'to him' (some representative individual).

³ the metre here is exactly trishup.

⁴ the typical saint as the diligent husbandman, and as opposed to the Raider; for an alternative rendering see Gāthas, pages 278 and 564.

⁵ literally 'for Her', 'the Cow'; but I had used 'Herd' for 'Cow' in line b.

recompense

These¹, through that Spirit bounteous, O Mazda,
Thy saint Thou'lt give, as they are all things best;
Far from Thy will² the faithless has his portion
In deeds rejoicing from the Evil Mind.

the ordeal

These¹, Lord, Thou'lt give and through that Spirit Bounteous
By Fire³ for good to strivers twain 'gainst wrong⁴
Through growth of Zeal and Truth, O Mazda
For Zeal instructeth her beseeching throng!

¹ these blessings; i. e., those of Immortality, Healthful-Weal, fertile fields as the results of Zeal or Practical Devotion.

² or far 'from Thy love'; but I prefer the safer and less modern thought in this particular communication; elsewhere the word means 'love'.

³ the Holy Fire which tested the claims of disputants, later (but not in the gâthic period) by submitting the body (the breast) to molten brass as a test of innocence in case of escape from injury, or of guilt when the natural results ensued.

⁴ in judgment.



Word-for-word rendering with popular explanations:

1. 'By-the-spirit bountiful [with holiness*] and by-the-best mind, (b) in-accordance-with asha [as this divine-truth] in-deed and-in-speech (c, d, e) may Mazda Ahura, [and the powers already named] by [or 'in the exercise of His'] sovereign-authority [or 'together with Khshathra as the Archangel of his sovereign-authority'] with Âramaiti [also the alert and ready thought for action alive within our faithful officials, may they all] bestow upon-us the two-[greatest-of-blessings]-healthful-weal and deathless-long-life'.

2. 'Yea, may Ahura Mazda complete for-us* [this] best [deed] of-this-most-bountiful spirit, (b) with hymns now [sung] from-the-tongue and-mouth* of-[the faithful saint endowed with]-the-good-mind, (c, d) [and] with-action from-the-two-hands-of-[the chieftain filled with]-Âramaiti [the-alert-spirit-of-prompt-obedience], He Mazda by-means-of-that-intelligence the-father of-asha [as the holy people who are inspired by His law]'.

3. 'Thou art therefore the-bountiful-[or-'holy']-one the-Lord of-this [blest]-spirit (b) who has for-this [saint, or 'for us'] created the-joy-making Cow; (c) but for him, or ['for us'] may'st-Thou grant Âramaiti [here meaning 'a devoted spirit of active obedience to toil upon the land] together-with-peaceful pastures, [i. e. pastures sheltered from incursion], (d) since he-hath-consulted with-Thy-good mind [in Thy saint, i. e. with the good and faithful citizen], O-Mazda'.

This strophe Nr. 3 affords an excellent example of the difficulties of exegesis in the Gâthas, and at the sametime of the practical unimportance of such obstacles when the Gâthas are used for a devotional purpose; here is a strophe without one single difficult word; and yet we are not sure whether it is a 'saintly citizen' (not named here, as in Y. 43, 1), or 'the Cow', representing the agricultural class, who asks questions as to the pursuit of pastoral agriculture; yet whichever word is really the subject grammatically, as we see, the sense remains unchanged. Âramaiti here is associated with those engaged in severe and devoted labour (see strophe 2); perhaps the word originally meant 'the 'tilling', or 'ploughing' zeal'; but what difference does it make as regards the

*1 the sole possible difference in opinion here is as to whether a word means 'may they give', 'to give', or 'giving'.

theological interest which precise shade of meaning we impart to the strophe. If the ancient poet did not mean 'who made for us' he certainly meant 'who made for this unnamed disciple (one of us)'; if the Cow did not, under a figure of speech consult with Ahura; that is to say, if the chief who directed the momentous work of cattle culture, on which the hope of the communities depended did not consult with Ahura, then it was this unnamed saint, his colleague and coadjutor who did so consult with Him. What is the difference, so far as a devotional lesson is concerned? Yet here is one of the most perplexing uncertainties in the texts. Line *c* raises the interesting question whether it does not show a trace of the origin of the idea that arāmaiti (like aramati in the Indian) often represented the earth. By reading the words 'with-peaceful pasture' as accusatives (which is possible) we get 'may'st Thou grant arāmaiti, the peaceful pastures', as if in apposition.

4. (a, b) From, or 'by'-this bountiful-spirit of-Mazda the-evil-enemies are-severely-wounded [or 'afflicted], not so the-faithful-saints, [and this notwithstanding that material power is against us]; (c) [only] a-man of-little-[dignity]-in-any-way, [i. e. only a personage of obscure position] may, or 'will' be [ready] for-the-pleasing, [i. e. will be at the-good-pleasure] of-the-faithful [to assist him]; (d) [but] being one-having-power-in-many-ways of, [i. e. 'over']-much [is] the-evil [chief] for-the evil; [yet by the Bountiful Spirit of Mazda these superior forces shall be overcome; the evil are defeated, and not the saints]'.

Another rendering of *c, d* would be a: 'a man of small means is at the service of the righteous, but even one of large means is hostile to the wicked'; as to this see S. B. E. XXXI, p. 149. Gāthas p. 562. Verbatim translations in Latin would be practically identical here.

5. 'And by-this-bountiful spirit, O-Ahura Mazda, may'st-Thou-assign (b) [in-the-good distribution (see next strophe)] to-the-saintly [citizen] [as his just due] what-[gifts]-soever [are then] the-best; (c) [but] far from-Thy-delighted-will [hardly simply 'against Thy will'] the-evil [enemy] has-his-portion, (d) abiding-joyfully in-[his]-deeds with-the-evil-mind [incarnate in the hordes of our tyrannical enemies]'.

6. 'These-two [blest gifts] then may'st-Thou-give by-Thy-bountiful spirit, O-Mazda Ahura, (b) by-means-of-Thy [holy] fire

in-the-good distributive-distinction to-the-two-contending-sides (b) by-means-of-the-augmentation of-practical-obedience and of-asha [as honesty], (d) for she [the spirit of alert and practical obedience] causes the-many [or 'the men', who are] coming to-her to-believe, [and therefore to prosper and prevail cheered on by Thy blest fire]'. The piece, with its allusions to the end held in view which was permanent welfare (strophe 1), and as to its chief particular, prosperous agriculture (in strophe 3); with allusions to the punishment of the evil with 'wounds' (in 4; see also 5), and finally (in 6) to the 'two battling' sides, forms a fitting prelude to the remaining chapters of this Gâtha, XLVIII, XLIX, L, for these deal with a military crisis as seems evident.



YASNA XLVIII.

Anticipated struggles and prayers for champions and defenders.

1. This chapter divides itself quite naturally; 1—4 belong together; then 5 and 6; 7 seems less closely connected; then follow 8—12. A struggle is evidently at hand, whether the same as that to which allusion is more than once made, by incitation as in Y. 31, 18, with anxious expectation as in Y. 44, 15, 16, or as if in a sense of victory as in Y. 45, 1, or of defeat as in Y. 49, 1, is difficult or rather impossible, to determine. But with the strophes, or as we are more accustomed to hear, with the 'verses' 10, 11, 12 in view, together with the dispirited Y. 49, 1, we shall, say at once that if this verse was intended to be connected with them, an armed struggle had been expected, whether the decisive one, or not, we need not say.

The saint, that is to say, the pious adherent to the holy constitution of the religious State, whatever may have been the result of the immediately preliminary struggles, is encouraged by a view of the end.

2. But the burdened worshipper craves still further reassurance before the 'storms of battle' come once more upon him.

3. For little as the assurances of Ahura are valued by the heretic, to the man who understands the true relations, what Ahura declares by means of His inspired prophets, the announcers of the mysterious doctrines, this is of all things best; he needs not ask as elsewhere (see Y. 31, 17).

4. And whoever would hope for spiritual growth and purity must turn his mind to that word of the Deity, and pursue its teachings faithfully; and so at the last his fears will vanish for his doubts will disappear.

5. This verse seems to be a prayer to Âramaiti; 'when the long struggles shall have found their issues; and the one party or

the other wins the day, let not that party be the evil alliance with its Monarch. For if the government is set up and carried on with all the prescribed ceremonial and moral exactness of the wise Chisti; if men who toil for the sacred Kine and with the virtue of those who cultivate* them, hold the reins of power and can so repress the predatory raids on defenceless, as well as on unoffending victims, then no gift of Ahura, since the tribes became a nation, could be looked upon as a greater, or as so great a blessing, as the correct Authority, and the holy Order of the Law'.

7. Urging the armed overthrow of the spirit of Rapine in accordance with the Kine's complaint (Y. 29, 1), he exhorts the armed masses to energetic and offensive valour.

8. He then vehemently, although not rhetorically, asks how he may use the proper prayers to rally the needed coadjutors among the chiefs (Y. 46, 9) to carry on the struggle.

9. Again he utters a cry for relief in his suspense, and of entreaty for light as to the rewards which did not concern this life for its own sake (verse 1) merely or chiefly; but which were spiritual blessings received here in preparation for the spiritual world.

10. 'When' he asks as one among similar questions four times repeated, 'when shall the ideal men appear whose thoughtful plans (Y. 46, 3) shall drive hence the polluted schemes of the false priests and the tyrants (Y. 46, 1)? (11) And 'when shall Âramaiti, the kindly piety of home, appear, she who, like the earth, spreads pastures for the peaceful Kine; when shall she appear with holy Klishathra (later well-called an angel or archangel)?, the personified Authority of God over home and State, without which an anarchy as bad as that of the Evil Authority (verse 5) might continue or recur'. And 'who was the champion-chief who would give them peace through blood (Y. 46, 4, 53, 9)'.

11. In a word 'to whom as to the coadjutors of such a leader, would the light of reason, and the true faith come to inspire and to guide them?'

12. There was but one only class of human warriors whom he would thus match against that Demon of furious Rapine (v. 6) toward whom the evil on their part, at their first creation rushed as to their leader (Y. 30, 6); and these were the saviour Saosh-

yants, the vicegerents of the Immortals upon earth, the religious princes Vîstâspa, Jâmâspa, Frashaoshtra; and with them, as the greatest among them all, he who was, with much probability the speaker, or composer of the passage, that is to say, the *Ratu* appointed by Ahura for the Kine (Y. 29, 8) and for men, Zarathushtra Spitâma, elsewhere and later called with hyperbole the 'first tiller, warrior, and priest'.



YASNA XLVIII.

hopes of victory

If he¹ with Asha's deeds
shall slay | the Lie-Druj,
When that once called deceit
our lot² | shall really be,
In deathless life for saints,
cursèd for faithless;
With blessings this
shall swell,
praise, Lord, to Thee.

suspense

Tell me then, Lord,
what Thou | so well perceivest
E'er my war's crises
shall | fully come on;
Shall the Law's ranks
in truth | smite down the sinners,
For so life's crowning
deed
for us is won!

the stake

Yes, to the enlightened one
is that | best of doctrines
Which the beneficent
through Asha's | law hath taught;
Holy he knoweth the
hid truth's full revealers³,
Mazda, Thy servant
through
Good Mind's keen thought.

¹ the commander of the Zarathushtrian forces.

² so stands the text; and my emendation (see the verbatim) is solely in response to doubts as to the genuineness of such a too significant idea.

³ see the word-for-word.

the future goal.

He who will bend his mind
on both | the good and evil,
With Asha's truth
his lot, fulfilling vows^{*1}, will cast,
His soul | will join
for aye | believers¹ in friendship;
And in Thy knowledge
stand
complete at last!

incitations

Yes, may, our rulers win! . . .
yon tyrants, never! . . .
With well-planned
tactic deeds, O holy Zeal,
Saving their offspring²
to saints, O thou best one;
For herds be work
well done,
and send them weal!

For they will give us,
Lord, safe homes and power,
Long lasting strength,
good men³, free-est from strife;
For Kine he grew
with skill | faultless the pastures
Mazda, in birth
of all
primeval life!

^{*1} see the word-for-word.

² or 'hallowing to [believing] man the best things for generation',
i. e. 'for the increase of all living values'; according to tradition the
best things 'after birth'.

³ lit 'good mind'.

war

Down then be Raider cast;
 against Fury¹ smite ye!
Ye who at good men's*
 side, holding would share
That help² | whose
 holy bond bindeth the righteous;
For him | within Thine
 house
 that help I'll bear!

the effective plea

Which is indeed the prayer
 to bring on | Thy good ruler,
Which can Thy blessings
 goal | for us attain?;
How shall I seek
 the men | marked out as helpers,
While I Thy people's
 cause
 further to gain?

suspense (once more)

Aye, shall I know
 if aught | for me Ye govern
By Thy just law
 o'er what | most doth appal?³
Aright for joy to me
 show good men's⁴ favour;
Let Thy true prophet
 find
 how blessings fall!

¹ Aêshma the wrath-demon of the raid.

² or 'shelter', or some similar element favouring the holy people.

³ over some vital interest, or threatening calamity; as to what it may have been, see the verbatim and the commentary, p. 577.

⁴ so, for safety; lit., 'the good mind's' . . .

who shall help

Yes, when shall come
the men | best skilled for action?
When drive they hence
this soil | of frenzied secr?
With whose foul rites
the Karp | murd'rous would rob us,
And by whose
oracle
tyrants are here?

the rally

Aye, when shall come
keen zeal | with legal Order,
Giving through government
rich pastures, blest homes?;
Who rest from
blood-stained | infidel wins us?;
To whom shall
civic* skill
from good men* come?

the men

Yes, such shall be,
O Lord, this land's prince-saviours,
Who in Thy people's
Faith | shall firm abide,
With Asha's rites
fulfilled, guarding each statute,
Set against murder's
raid
stemming its tide!



Y. 48. Word-for-word, etc.

1. 'If [he] with-adjusted [instrumentalites] through-[the assistance of]-Asha [as the personified constitution of the State, or 'as the attribute of Ahura'] shall-conquer the-Druj(k) [the harmful demon of the Lie, the genius of the opposers as the inverted Asha], (b) when [those-things] shall be [so with one text conjecturally emended] pushed-forward, [or 'shall be pushed forward with a sharing', (i. e. 'as our share', so with another text)], which [things] were-decried [as] deceptions; (c) [when they shall be advanced] in-deathlessness, [decried] by-false-gods'-[worshippers, advanced] by-[saintly]-men, (e) then this] shall-increase the-fidness-of-worship for-Thee, O-Ahura, on-account-of-the-rich-blessings [or 'advantages secured']'.

2. 'Tell me, Ahura, what [things] Thou [art] knowing, (b) before that what-[things are my] mental battles, [i. e. mental crises', (or simply 'before what are my battles', the impending military collisions)] come-upon-me; (c) what! shall the holy [citizen], O-Mazda, overcome the evil-godless-foe]?; (d) for this is-known [as] the-good consummation of-life [or 'of-the people']!'

3. 'Yen, to-the-one-knowing-for-himself [is] the-best of-doctrinal-laws (b) which Ahura the-one-establishing-[it]-well pronounces through-asha [here meaning 'the holy ritual, statute and moral law'], (c) bounteous [with-holy-efficiency], knowing [and recognising those] whoever [they may be who are] pronouncers-of-[Thy]-secret-[decrees or 'mysterious doctrines'], (d) the-one-having-Thee, [i. e. like-Thee and worthy-of-Thee], O Mazda, through-the-understanding of-[one inspired by Thy]-good mind'. It is not impossible that line *c* and *d* may be intended as an oblique allusion to Ahura couched in the third person from excess of reverence as in Y. 44, 1, which see. One of the most singular of the curiosities present in the Gâthas is the use of several terms now to designate the Deity and again His adherent; this 'Thine equal' is prominent among them.

4. '[He] who will-apply [his] mind to-the-better [thing], O-Mazda, and to-the-worse, (b) [he will also follow, or 'apply his thought] to-the-insight [of the holy faith]; (c) his wish [or 'wished-for-ideal'] will-go-on-hand-in-hand-with [his] beloved and chosen-religious-professions [meaning either that 'his intentions will follow his professions', or 'his passionate desire will follow his beloved

fellow-disciples'], (c) [and] in-Thine understanding, [i. e. in the deeds and beliefs which Thou dost think to be wise] he-will-be [versed] in-many-different-ways at-last'.

5. 'Let those-who-exercise-good-rule bear-rule; let-not evil-rulers rule us; (b) let the good rulers rule us with-the-deeds of-good-wisdom, [or 'good skill' (administrative, or even military*)], O-one-alert-of-mind [for devoted action], (c) blessing-with-a-hallowed-blessing [his] posterity* for-the-faithful-man, [i. e. rescuing and cherishing their best interests], O-best-one, [or 'hallowing to-man the-best [influences tending] to-generation¹, [i. e. 'to the prosperous birth of men* and live-stock']; (d) for-the-Cow [meaning 'for the sacred cattle-interest'] let-work-be-done; may'st-Thou nourish her to-feed [her; (hardly, as would seem at first sight more natural) 'for food'; as the cow was even then probably sacred].

6. 'For she [the typical herd-cow; i. e. the agricultural interest] will-give us prosperous-homes*; (b) [yea, she-will-give us] continuous strength, [she] the-blessed-one of-the-good mind [in the faithful citizen, i. e. 'the blest one of the good man'], (c) but for-her Mazda caused the-herbage-and-plants to-grow through-asha [as the regular-law of nature], (d) [He] Ahura in-the-generation-of-the-primeval world-life'. * as against the usual savage plunder.

7. 'Down let Aêshma [the-fury-of-the-raid] be-put; against Rema ['the rest (?)', or 'the settling-blow (?) of desolation'] smite-ye, (b) [ye] who at-the-side-of (*apud*) the-Good-Mind [in the saintly citizen, i. e. 'by the side of the good man', (c) and guided] by-asha [as the-law-of-sanctity] desire-to-sustain the-refuge* [or 'holy-lore' which points out the refuge] to whose bond the-bountiful, [i. e. the 'holy' man [belongs]]; (d) so for-him I-will-establish [that bond, or 'refuge'] in-Thy house, [or, 'in Thy creation' (?)]. O-Lord'.

8. 'Which [is] the-prayer [or (to another root) 'which is the wealth'] of-Thy-good kingdom, O-Mazda?; (b) which of-[or 'for'] the-blest-recompense for-me, O-Ahura?; (c) by-what asha² [as 'the holy-ritual-and-moral regulation] shall-I-seek for-Thee [or 'Thy' ready-and-present] liberal-helpers with-faces-turned-toward-us,

¹ Some writers refer this to the later spiritual birth in heaven, a pretty idea; but such advanced hyper-spiritualism is not consonant with the circumstances when they are estimated in a critical spirit.

² possibly 'by what [prayer], O-Asha?'

[i. e. 'open'], (d) stimulating-and-inciting them as-[an-inciter of the mighty-deeds of-the-good spirit].

9. 'When do-I-[or 'may'-I]-know if over-ought Ye-rule (b), O-Mazda by-asha [as the law of justice, or possibly 'O-Asha'].... over-what [is] my oppression¹ and doubt [or 'fear' (?)]; (c, d) aright for-me let the-one-about-to-save obtain for-me the-delight² the-woven-word (sic) of beatific-mystery how [in-order-that] the blest-recompense may-be his'.

10. 'When are the-men of-alert-and-prepared-intellect coming, O-Mazda; (b) when shall-they-be-driving [hence] the-impurity of-this-intoxication [of soma (?) drunk as a stimulus to worship or battle, (c) aided] by-which fell-[inspiration-of]-assault the-Karpans are-robbing [us], (d) and by-which inverted-wisdom, [i. e. sinister device of our enemies] the-evil-rulers of-the-provinces [now hold their sway]'.

11. 'When, O-Mazda and-Asha, shall the-alert-and-ready-mind [as it exists in the zealous patriot come]?; [or 'when, O-M., shall the devoted and ready patriot come'] with-asha, [i. e. 'filled with the spirit of the holy law?']; (b) when shall prosperous-home-life provided-with-pasture come?, [i. e. 'when shall domestic prosperity return through the influence of heavy crops of pasture-grass, it not being withered by a scorching draught, but aided by irrigation] by-means-of-klshatūra, [i. e. 'under the influence of effective government control which may watch ceaselessly these supreme interests]; (c) who shall-give the-settling-blow on-the-occasion-of-[these]-bloody [and so, cruel] evil-[demon-worshippers?; or 'who shall give us rest from them?'] (which amounts practically to nearly the same thing)]; (d) to-whom shall the wise-skill of-the-good mind [in Thy citizen] come?, [i. e. 'to whom shall the wise-skill of the good citizen come?']'.

12. 'Yea, such shall-be [the princes] of-the-provinces about-to-save, [i. e. the princely priests who were both legally and naturally the protectors of the people and the leaders in all advance movements], (b) [they] who follow [Thy] propitiating-[or 'stimu-

¹ God is here said to rule over some vital spiritual interest, as to what it precisely was, see Gāthas, page 298 and Commentary p. 575.

² the word rendered 'delight may be in the nominal rather than in the verbal form; 'may I justly delight in the word of beatific mystery', which of course amounts practically to the same thing.

lating']-worship with-a-good mind, [i. e. 'with favouring enthusiasm', (or possibly it may mean 'in company with the faithful citizen', 'the good man inspired by the good mind')], (c) with-actions [done] in-accordance-with-asha [as the holy law of Thy ritual, doctrinal and civil statutes]; (d) for these, O-Mazda, [are] established [as] those-who-deliver-the-opposing-shock for-Aêshma, [i. e. 'for resisting the furious incursions of border warfare']'.



YASNA XLIX.

Reverses and hopes; honour to Frashaoshtra and other chiefs.

The chapter divides itself naturally into sections 1—5, 6—11. Verse 12, belongs with chapter I. One of the struggles in the holy war seems to have gone against the party of Asha. I say 'one of the struggles', for, from the account of a reverse which we have here, and from that of a success which meets us in chapter XLV, 1, and again from reverses in Y. XLVI, 1, 2, etc., we naturally conclude that the 'Cause' saw many vicissitudes, in which the last Gâtha still leaves us. Whether Y. XLV, 1 records a victory which was subsequent to the reverse before us, referring to a battle also alluded to in Y. XLIV, 13, 14, and by anticipation in Y. XXXI, can never be decided; the order of the statements in the sequence of our present Mss. has little, if any thing, to do with the possible order of the events.

1. A border chief, Beñdva by name, had proved himself too formidable (*mazishtô*) for the moment, and the holy Faith knows how to beg for vengeance on the armed Druj-worshipper. The weapons of Ahura were not spiritual only any more than those of Israel were, or those of Mohammed. The death of an armed religious enemy was devoutly to be desired for every moral and political, as well as for every personal reason.

2. For judicial as well as priestly decisions hung on the issue. This Beñdva had also his adherents and a regular system; and they were in full and active operation. This was also beyond a doubt a rival and settled system, and not merely an upstart and insurrectionary one. It had caused the true prophet many an hour of thought as well as of anger; its functionaries gave him 'pause' (*mânayeiti*). Falsity in religion was as ever his opportunity, and invective follows. 'The priestly Judge who served the Druj worshippers was himself a cheat. The holy Order was his foe,

and not his helper'; and 'he did not contribute at all to the spread of piety as the' Zoroastrians understood it, nor indeed really in another sense for the reason that he even repudiated the source of pious wisdom which is 'holy counsel'.

3. But however the evil representatives of the opposing party might resort to subterfuge and strategy, the opposing powers themselves, the spirit of the Law on the one side, and the power of the Lie-demon on the other, were planted in the opposing systems with dualistic clearness, to benefit or injure; there was no compromise as doubtless the Druj party may have wished. And so the poet cries once more for the divine Benevolence to be his guardian. Or perhaps he may have intended a particular chief who represented the 'good mind in the holy community', while at the same time he swept the entire throng and company who adhered to the Lie-demon with his interdict away from his consideration.

4. He declares them to be closely allied to the Daêva-worshippers; or else he puts their worship of the Daêvas in the place of climax as their highest offence, not failing to point out what should conciliate sympathy with him forever, which was that he considered those who opposed and brought on the Daêva-demons to be the devotees of Rapine *aêshmem var(e)den*, and that he was heart and soul devoted to the suppression of this murderous violence, which was indeed, and in those regions unfortunately still continues to some extent to be, a prevailing if not an universal sin. By this these daêva-worshippers gained a stolen livelihood, and spent their ill-got treasure in idle waste (*fshuyasû afshuyaîtô*).

5. But he who defended the holy Daêna was as meat and drink to the people, wise and faithful, as a settled citizen, and trained in the traditions of the holy State.

6. He therefore prays once more for right discernment as to how he may propagate the Faith.

7. And he calls on the steady citizen to listen, beseeching God Himself to lend an ear, and to tell him who the faithful prince or peer, or villager might be who might take the lead as guardian in giving forth (see *srâvayaêmad* in 6) that holy Daêna with its praise and its command to the masses who awaited it.

8. But he asks the question as if only to give emphasis to his own nomination of a chief, a venerated friend; Frashaoashtra is the man. He is the one fitted for the hearing; apt to be renowned

and to make his office widely known as an effective institution; and he begs that they both, Frashaoshtra and himself, may be permanently prominent in that holy Realm which was to counteract that depraved policy the defenders of which had for the moment gained the upper hand (see verses 1 and 2).

9. But the case is in so far uncertain that he cries for help once more to the ideal citizen, himself fearing that he may yet be induced to share the power with the heretic; and he still declares that men's souls may reach the reward of priority only through the holy system of Ahura, and under the rulers of His choice.

10. He therefore confides the result to God and with it his dependents, those yet living and some who were no longer there. And his thoughts being turned to Heaven (11) revert as if by antithesis (the key-note of the *Daêna*) to future retribution; those who may be wavering, half-inclined to adhere to the opposing party (verse 9) are warned in words of peculiar meaning; 'they who choose the evil sovereign the *dushsasti*, as in Y. XXXII, 9, or as the *sâstârs* of Y. XLVI, 1, shall not go forward with the saints to the *Chinvat* Bridge (Y. 46, 10), nor shall they be met by their consciences under pleasing images (Yt. 22), nor later by the souls of saints who had gone before, but the wicked dead shall meet them in the Home-of-lies with poisoned food and sneering words; and this shall be their self inflicted punishment.



YASNA XLIX.

defeat

Beñdva hath gained . . !
 he ever | yet the strongest . . . ;
The ruthless¹ now
 with rites | to peace I call;
Come, Lord, with gift
 of good
 to heal my sorrow;
With good men² gain
 for me
 that Beñdva's fall!

the victor worthless

Beñdva's 'curst Resident*
 retarding, still would foil me;
Faithless, from Asha's host
 reaps he | alone the sword;
No prospering zeal
 he plans
 for this our nation
Nor counsels with
 Thy
 good men³, Lord.

¹ probably the Mazda-worshippers disaffected owing to the disaster; cp. y. 46, 1 where none would help him.

² lit 'with good mind';

³ i. e. 'with our citizens' in whom the good mind lives'.

the Faith is still our stay

But for our Faith
Thy law | stands firmly founded; —
For his false creed
the Lie | demon of war!
Yes, Thy good people's
true
shelter I'll hold by;
Allics of | infidels
ever abhor!

the foe's fell creed

They who with madness
urge
on Raid and Wasting,
With their loud¹ tongues
would shout
rushing to thieve,
Who pray with devil's
rites, with Asha's never;
These the fiends help
with what
foul sinners believe!

the truer hope

But he is blessing,
Lord, and he our riches,
Who guards our holy Faith
with | good men's* hand:

¹ 'with 'their own' tongues'; 'their own' probably having some such force.

Each willing saint
hath thus
Asha enfranchised
With all who in Thy
Realm
loyal shall stand.

which is the rightful law?

This I beseech of You
and Asha tell me,
What in Thy wisdom
lies | make fully known;
Aright to judge
I seek
how this to utter,
That holy law¹
which guides
ever Your own.

who shall reorganise?

Let then these words
be heard,
heeded by good men²;
Hear Thou, Ahura,
too | their holy sound;
“Who, prince allied,
or who | native, with off’rings,
Who for the people
Thy
praises shall found”?

¹ in spite of the reverse. ² lit. ‘by the good mind’.

our princess still the men

Tis Frashaoshtra; —
 then grant him that power,
Headship of ritual
 with | statutes' command;
Make us first princes
 in
 ministration,
Foremost forever,
 and
 ruling the land!

no traitor's compromise

Hear he the law then
 as prince | fit to lead us;
Let no true saint
 hold his | rule with the knave;
Souls should unite
 in best
 recompense only
With Jâmâsp so blended
 is Vishtâsp the brave!

the end confided

These lay I safest, Lord,
 in Thy protection
Men who are holy
 here, souls passed from sight;
Self-humbling praise
 I'll yield
 with full devotion,
With wisest ruling
 and
 with deathless* might.

revenge

But evil kings
to meet ,liars, mal'factors,
Men believing Falsehood's
creed, minds filled with gall
With poisoned food,
to meet
lost souls are coming,
In the Lie's hell
at last
their bodies fall!

*what help*¹

What help hast Thou
then for him
who calls through Asha?
For Zarathushtra what
with good mind's quest
This ask I, Mazda, Lord,
with praises praying
What in Your
holy might
lives as the best!

¹ see the first strophe of Yasna L.



Y. 49. Word-for-word, with explanatory glosses.

1. 'Yes, Beïdva [the polluted chief of our dread enemies] hath ever fought with-me, [he] the-greatest [of us two, the victor; (b) he hath fought as 'the greatest, with me] who [am now] endeavouring-to-win-over the evil-intentioned [disaffected mazda-worshippers] with-asha [here meaning 'with the holy-rites and with the just honesty which they express']; (c) come with-the-gift of-good; to-me [are] sorrows; [or 'come to my sorrows (to heal them)'. Or again, but with another reading (NB), 'come, rejoice me']; (d) through Thy good mind [inspiring our heroic forces], obtain [for me, or 'impart to me' (sic)] his [the Beïdva's] destruction'.

2. (a, b) 'Yea, the-evil administrator of-this-Beïdva [the polluted] causes-me-to-stop-[or '-pounder', he] the-deceiver due-to-receive-harm-and-wounds* from-[the executors of the]-holy-law; (c) he-has not maintained the-holy* spirit-of-devotion for-this laud, (d) nor-has-he-consulted with-the-good-mind, O-Lord [meaning 'with the good mind in the holy people', 'with our loyal and faithful party']'.

3. (a, b) 'And-so for-this [our] religious-cause, O-Mazda, asha [as 'Thy holy church is] established to-profit, [i. e. 'to-be-the-source of-our-salvation and-prosperity']. for-the-[evil]-administrator, [the satrap 'till this evil time is over, the system of] the-Demon-of-deceitful-harm [the inverted asha, is set] to-do-[us]-hurt, (c) therefore I- will-seek-for-myself the-protecting-chieftainship of-the-good-Mind [Thine angel of benevolence in our now defeated army]; (d) all the-allies of-the-evil-[foe] I-abjure-for-myself'.

4. '[They] who with-perverved-understanding, [i. e. 'with mistaken calculations'] will-increase Aēshma [the Fury-of-the-border-raid] and the-stillness [of desolation (?)] (b) by-their-own tongues, [they] abandoning-all-honest-cattle-toil among-the-toiling-cattle-herders, (c) whose darling-wish [is] not [to work] with-good-doers-of-deeds, [but] with-doers-of-evil-deeds; (d) these [are they who] will-establish the-demon-gods by-what [is] the-[perverted]-religious-system of-our-evil [-foes]'.
 5. 'But he, O-Mazda, [is our] abundance and prosperity, [i. e. 'he is the one who by means of his teaching induces abun-

dance] who has-protectingly-ruled [our] Religious-insight [the holy Faith] with-the-good mind; (c) every-man of-the-alert-devoted-mind [is] a-good-citizen through-[the inspiration of the holy]-law, (d) and-together-with-all within-Thy kingdom, O-Ahura; [or 'with the help of all other instrumentalities within Thy Kingdom']¹.

6. 'Forth verily I beseech You, O-Mazda; and Asha [Thy holy law] tells me, [i. e. 'delivers to me' the answer' [or 'let it (?) toll me'] (b) what-[things are] in-the-thought of Your-understanding, (c) aright to-distinguish how we-should-cause those-[truths] to-be-[widely]-heard [in these our days of calamity], (d) that-religious-insight, [i. e. 'the holy Faith'] which [is that] of-the-one-who-possesses-You', [i. e. of Your servant], O-Ahura'.

7. 'This-also, O-Mazda, let-him-hear [who is endowed] with-Thy-good-mind; (b) let-him-hear [as endowed] with-[Thy]-holy-Law; [and] do-Thou-give-ear, O-Ahura; (c) 'who [as] an-ally; who [as] kinsman [of-the-blood-royal] will-there-be, with-his-offerings [or 'arrangements'] (d) who for-the-stall [or 'village']-workman shall-establish a-good-[system of]-worship [toward] Thee!'

8. (a, b) 'To-Frashaoshira may'st-Thou-give the-most-beneficent-and-friendly protecting-headship* of asha [as embodied in the holy community]; that I-beseech of-Thee, O Mazda Ahura, (c) [for him] and-for-me [also], that headship] which [ought to be] in-Thy-good Kingdom; (d) for-all-duration may-we-be most-beloved* [or 'foremost']¹.

9. 'Let this cattle-prince fashioned [or 'destined'] to-lead-us-to-prosperity hear [then] the-proclamations-[of-Thy law]; (b) let-not the-truth-speaker [of-our-holy-creed be] exercising a-protecting-authority in-common-with-the-evil [foe], (c) since souls should-unite in-the-best reward; (d) through-the-holy-law [the two are] two-united-ones, the-heroic-one [united] with-Jâmâspa'.

10. 'And-this [result] I-will-lay, O-Mazda, in-Thy protection, (b) the-good-minded-[man] and-the-souls of-the-saints, (c) and-self-humbling-praise [I-will-render to Thee] whereby the-alert-devotedness-of-the-mind [is produced] and-[sacred]-plenty, (d) together-with mentally-engendered (?) government and with-undying² power²'.

11. (a, b, c). But the-souls [of-the-wicked] are-coming with-

¹ It is very possible that this may refer to the Kingdom in heaven; but the earthly one was its prototype and commencement.

² As to this last obscure line, see Comm. p. 583, also Dictionary.

evil-food against [that is to-say 'to meet'] the-wicked evil-kings of-evil-deeds, of-evil-words, and of-evil-thoughts; (d) in the abode of-the-harmful-demon-of-the-lie veritable [or 'truly'] shall-be [their] abodes, [or 'their bodies']'.

12. 'What of-help [is there then] to-Thee for-the-one-invoking through-asha [as 'the holy ritual order'], (b) for-Zarathustra?; what to-Thee [is the help for the one invoking] with-the-good-mind [in-the sympathetic community?; (c) I] who will-endear-myself to-You [in-worship] with-praises, (d) [am] beseeching-for such-a[-thing], as in-Your-possession¹ [is] the best'.

¹ or, 'in-accordance-with-Your-selection'; for alternatives, which do not materially alter what we most value, see Gāthas pp. 322, 585; also Dictionary for all words beginning with vowels.



YASNA L.

This piece from Y. XLIX, 12 to Y. I, 1—5 joins on well with Y. XLIX, although the tone is brighter. As the composer begins with questions in V. XLVIII, 8—11, after the prospective prayers of Y. XLVIII, 1—7, in which he looks forward to a crisis in the armed struggle, so now, after the hostile chief has got the upper hand he cries out once more with interrogatives, uttering the questions, not of curiosity but of mournful devotion.

'The storm has broken over us', so he would seem to say, 'and I have prayed for grace to know how we may administer (Y. XLIV, 9) the all-powerful means of help, the Daëna, in which Thy holy law is established (Y. XLIX, 3); I have cried to Thee for chief and peer (verse 7), naming Frashaoštra, Jânâspa, and the Yâhin; and now while I invoke You, praying for what in Your expressed selection is the best (Y. XXVIII, 10; Y. XLIV, 10) I would more than ever declare that I have no other help than Thee (or You) and Thy saving Law'.

2. And he asks once more to know how he who seeks to further the sacred herds, as the emblem of the moral thrift of the provinces, should proceed in his allotted work.

3. Answering his own question, he says that it is by 'advance upon the enemy'. He declares the heroic settler who pushes the holy system to the utmost verge of the sacred territory, or still further, to be the man 'to gain the Kine' for the seeking prophet.

4. But in the midst of struggles he anticipates Garôdnan (i. e. Heaven) with its praises.

5. For they were all prepared for both worship and work, since God had approached to aid His prophet encouraging his discouraged spirit.

6. Here Vishtâspa is represented as intervening, and he addresses Ahura, but speaks toward* Zarathushtra, exhorting him to

continue on in his work of propagation undismayed by threatening circumstances.

7. And with Zarathushtra he would re-engage the other powerful helpers whom he would yoke-on as 'steeds' to gain God's praise in heaven by passing over every 'bridge' of trial safely.

8. Having heard from Zarathushtra his metric words, he will approach with them to pray and, as in Y. 28, 2, 3, 'with hands uplifted' in homage and with vigour.

9. And he looks to attain the object of this prayers by religious self-control, and faithful action.

10. His efforts vie with the heavenly bodies in their praise of God.

11. Therefore he will persevere, and he beseeches that Ahura, the life-giver, may help-on the all-engrossing Cause.



YASNA L.

Asha the only hope

Aye, doth my soul
obtain | a real defender?;
For self and flock
can I | a saviour find
Other than Holiness¹
or Thee, Ahura,
Invoked, desired
one, or
Thy Best Mind²!

and so the way

How then shall he
the Kine
joyous be seeking
Who seeks them
rich in fields
with pastures? -how?
-Just living lands
-'tis thus-
in years of glory;
-known holy homes;-
oh, this
gift | give us now!

the needed frontier guard

Aye, Mazda, his
shall be
through holy justice
That herd | marked
his indeed
with legal sign,

¹ Asha. ² This strophe really belongs with Y. XLIX, 12.

Who with the force
of true
zeal is still farming
Lands closest pressing
yon
infidel's line!

praises 'till Heaven.

So will I sacrifice
with | praiser's chanting
And truth of rite
'mid Thy
best-minded throng,
With sovereign pow'r
which guards
that pleader's pathway,
'Till I on high
shall hear
Thy praiser's song!

ready

Aye, ready stand I
for
Your call, Ahura,
Since to Your prophet-priest
Ye kindly speed
With open help
of hand,
seen too of all men;
To glorious welfare
may
that prophet lead!

the herald of the Cause

Who lifts his voice
 within | Thy manthra, Mazda,
He Zarathushtra,
 friend | in deed and speech,
Founder of oral
 law, guarding the people,
My statutes
 may he yet
 faithfully teach.

the steeds of holy song

Thus Yours yoke on
 the span
 eager and swiftest
Storming the Bridge-
 -way where
 last vows are paid,
Your mighty steeds
 yoke on!
 with skill and order,
With these drive
 here to us;
 be Yè mine aid!

the earnest prayer

Yes, I would circle
 You | with praises, Mazda,
With hands lift high
 and chants
 from Asha's tome,

With ritual truth, and gift
 of off'rer's homage
And with Thy saints'
 inspired
 skill would I come!

With these Your offerings
 then
 I'll near You, Mazda,
With deeds and rites
 by men
 of Good Mind done;
As o'er my prize
 I strive
 gaining possession,
May its sought
 recompense
 at last be won!

God's praise the highest end

Deeds that I do, O Lord,
 and deeds
 still further;
And what to
 believing eye
 shone bright of yore,
Stars, suns, auroras
 too,
 each day's light-bearers
In praise of You
 are all
 through Asha's lore!

ardour

Aye, praiser named; —
may I

indeed so be it!

While with Thy ritual
law

I raise my song;

Thy people's stay,
give help

with good men working

Bè truths through grace
advanced

which most help on!



Y. 50. Word-for-word, with paraphrases, etc.

1. What doth my soul obtain of-any help (b) who (or 'what person' is] found [as] a-man defender of-my herd (c) other than-Asha [as the personification of the holy State] and-Thee, O-Mazda Ahura, (d) O-[Thou]-awakener-of-desire?¹, O-invoked-[one, or 'other'] than-Your-best mind'. By an alternative here moral theology loses a strengthening adjective. 'Awakener of desire', may be replaced by a mere verb of emphasis 'tell ye me'. Some regard the word here as merely meaning 'verily'. The rest of the strophe is undisputed, and the meaning is not only clear, but affecting; a rare remnant, when we remember its early date and the circumstances under which it was uttered.

2. 'How, O-Mazda, may-he the-joy-creating Cow be-seeking (b) who may-seek-for her, [that is to say 'who may desire to have her'] provided-with-pastures-for-this land? (c, d) [The answer is this] 'settlements openly-manifest, [i. e. beyond all question, i. e. 'settlements most-obviously'] living-aright in-accordance-with-the-holy-law in-the-many [recurring] sun-splendours**1, [these are the objects to be aimed-at for the ultimate acquisition of pastoral wealth, i. e. for 'the gaining of the Cow']; give-Thou [as] a gift [these as values] to-be-acquired by-me!' **1 or 'among sun-splendid men'.

3. 'So-in-any-way for this [man] may-there-be, O-Mazda, by-the-instrumentality-of-the-holy-law (b) [that herd] which for-him one-has-designated by-the-government [of the holy State] and by-the-Good mind, [or 'opinion' in the community; 'for this man may this be'] (c) who [as] an-herd, [or simply 'which man'] may-increase-for-himself through-the-mighty-influence of-the-blest-recompense [which may both incite him and assist him, the fertility, produce, and extent of the farm] which the-evil-unbelieving [enemy] shares [or 'claims' as] the-next [farm to his own'; i. e. 'who pushes out to the very border-land and farms his acres in the very face of the foe']'.

4. 'So will-I-worship You, praising, O-Mazda Ahura, (b) ever with-asha [as the holy ritual of the ceremonial law], and-with-the-

¹ but line (d) might be read; 'who . . . other than Asha and You [is found], tell-Ye me . . . , O invoked ones'.

best mind [in the assembled throngs of Thy congregation] in accordance-with-the-[holy]-government by-which [regulation] the supplicator stands [cheered and fortified*] upon-the-pathway; [yea], I-shall-hear the-openly-acquiescing liberal-coadjutors¹ in-the-Abode-of-Song, [that is to say, in heaven'].

5. 'For I-have-aroused-myself-to-readiness² by-, [or 'on account of'] You, O-Mazda Ahura [and] through-the-influence-of-Your-[holy-law, (b) since for-Your-prophet-hymn-reciter Ye-come-hither-in-propitious-grace (c) on-account-of-[i. e. 'for the purpose of affording']-openly-seen-and-manifest help (d) from-hand-sent-on-by-which [help] he [Thine hymning prophet] may-establish us in-glorious-welfare'.

6. 'Who [as]-a-manttra-speaker [of holy verse] lifts [his] voice, O-Mazda, (b) a-holy-friend through-asha-[as the ritual and moral law] and-through-self-humbling-praise, (c) a-deliverer [or 'giver'] [giving] direction of-the-understanding and-in-the-tongue for-the land; (d) my statutes [of legal regulation] may-he-enounce [animated] by- [Thy]-good mind [inspired within his soul'].

7. 'Yea, Your ardent fleet [steeds] do-Thou³-yoke-on, (b) gaining the-bridge-passes of-Your-worship, [the highest crises in the religious advance of Your holy people], (c) O-Mazda, [yea, yoke-on Your] mighty-ones through-asha [as 'the holy ritual and moral law'] and through the-good mind [in Thy faithful saint] (d) with-which [holy powers, 'fleet steeds' of Your attributes] may-Ye-drive-on, be-Ye for-my-help'.

8. 'With Your metric-feet which [are] heard-widely-forth, [and-renowned as the hymns] of-holy-adoration*¹ (b) I-will-encompass You, O-Mazda, with-uplifted-hands, (c) yea, You with-asha [as the holy ritual of Thy Law and] with-the-self-humbling-praise of-the-liberal-offerer [of princely gifts], (d) yea, You [will I encompass] with-the-good-virtue [or 'intelligence'] of-the-good mind [inspired by Your own attribute within my soul']'. *¹ see G. pp. 334, 591.

¹ that is to say, 'I will hear the vocal worship of our open and unconcealed partisans, of those whose help is not feeble and scarce known, but so pronounced as to be well-known'.

possibly the noun-form is here present rather than the verb-form, but the result of the expressions is not much affected whichever we may think to be present.

² it may be; 'I will yoke-on': 'do Thou yoke-on' would mean 'do Thou inspire me to yoke-on 'ritual steeds' of holy song'.

9. 'With-these Your Yasnas praising You I-will-come-to-meet, [You], (b) O-Mazda with-asha as [the ritual of the holy law accompanied and assisted] by-the-deeds of-the-good mind [within 'Thy saints], (c) when I-rule-at-will in-possession of-my-blest-prize; (d) thus earnestly-seeking the-reward of-the-beneficent-man may-I-become [its]-recipient'.

10. 'Thus what-deeds I-may-have-done and what-things on-account-of-these, [or 'related to these], (b) and what-things shine-bright in [or 'to'] the-eye on-account-of-the-good mind [in the faithful disciple, who sees their creator in them (?)], (c) stars, suns, the aurora, enlightener [or 'increaser'] of-the-days, (d) [are] for-Your praise, O-Mazda Ahura, through-asha [as the holy order of the universal law of nature, conscience and the ritual]'.

11. 'Yea, Your praiser may-I-call-myself, and-may-I-be [such], O-Mazda, (b) as-much-as through-[the help of]-asha [as the holy Archangel of the law] I-may-be-able, and-I-may-have-the-power;—(c) let the-creator of-the-world help together-with-the-good-mind [as the Archangel of His benevolence]; (d) through-[Thy]-veritable will-of-grace let-that-be-done^{***} which [is] most-promotive [of the Cause]'. *** see Gāthas, pp. 240, 593.



YASNA XXXI.

The progress and struggles of the Cause.

As everywhere, so here, and as a matter of course, original matter may have fallen out in places and the piece may have been originally more than one; but every thing is, none the less, homogeneous, and contemporaneous and also (as we may say) 'full of fire' from the beginning to the end.

We might divide thus; 1 and 2 as the concluding words of an address to the congregation connected with the last words of Y. 30; 3-5, an address to Ahura; 6, to the faithful; 7-17, to Ahura; 18, to the congregation; 19, to Ahura; 20, 21 to the congregation; 22, an addition by the original author himself, or by some of his colleagues, or immediate followers.

1. Those truths which are unwillingly heard by the hostile party are dear indeed to those whose hearts are devoted to Ahura.

2. And, if they are not clearly seen by the instrumentalities provided for that purpose, the energetic patriot will arrange still more effective means of enlightenment.

3. Changing his address to Ahura, he prays for that satisfying decision which would be the natural result of the regulation just promised; and he declares that the divine illumination caused by the holy Fire whether as sacrifice, or as ordeal, should make all the living believe. If it be possible that by this expression he meant every soul among the Zoroastrians, it yet seems perfectly obvious that he identified their interests with those of the righteous everywhere. It may be doubted whether he had much hope of converting his immediate opposers by his evangelistic efforts; yet if he did not positively mean at the moment 'all the living everywhere', it was simply because his attention was restricted by the startling character of the immediate events which were transpiring. 'All the living' could not possibly have been used by such a person with no thought at all of responsible beings outside the Zarathushtrian community, or section of the community.

4. He prays for the mighty kingdom by whose forces he might prevail over the armed enemy before him. And he uses, as elsewhere, the word 'ahura' in a sense differing from that in which the term is most frequently found.

5. He asks for prophetic insight as to what ought to be done, or as to what is about to happen.

6. He lauds the Manthra, the holy 'Word', and the sovereign Power.

7. He takes the heavenly* bodies* as evidence of the wisdom of Him who created the sacred Law.

8. He reiterates in terms which formed the basis for another hymn his conception of Ahura as the highest object of devotion.

9. He ascribes immortal Devotion to Him as well, 'She is His own', and is elsewhere 'His daughter', 'His was understanding (which reminds us of the Books of Proverbs and of Wisdom) when He created the animated world and when He arranged a home for the Cow, the 'herds' mother'. And she was to make her choice.

10. On such an all-important matter there remained no possible room for hesitation. She chose that one human being whom the composer placed with passionate enthusiasm at the summit of citizenship, the faithful 'tiller of the ground', first pioneer of hope and order to the slowly rising human race; and the non-worker who lived by murderous theft he fiercely anathematised. He describes the inevitable strife with a distinctness which rivals, while it antedates, Heraclitus.

11. The Law was given, and the deadly struggle began.

12. Truthful and liar, enlightened, or impostor fought as they forever shall, while 'true Devotion' questions the two spirits where they abide.

13. And the 'searching Eye' gazes upon all.

14. He wishes to know the end of it.

15. And especially the fate of the miscreants who are bringing-in the hostile party at the cost of civil war.

16. While he seeks to know how a well-meaning ruler may become God's own by his wise and heroic decisions.

17. To answer this question he needs only to ask which religion is the true.

18. Let them then fly to arms.

19. The only one who was fit to hear was He who conceived the holy law with its altar-flame which should guide the good and shame the evil. Did the faithless only heed that flame, it would be 'salvation' even to them!

20. The damnation of the opponents is portrayed; their own souls will bring it on.

21. But glorious health and deathless long life begun here shall be the lot of God's helper; they shall be continued in scenes on high.

22. He who heeds will be God's friend and conjutor.



YASNA XXXI.

The progress of the Cause; the Struggle.

unheeded words

These Your statutes reciting,
words unheeded yet let us utter,
By those unheard who our farms
through the creeds of the Lie are destroying,
But words of the best unto those
who to Mazda are heartily faithful.

a still nearer approach

If through this for the soul
the truths are not seen as the better,
Then teaching to all will I come
with God's law more fully confirmed
Law over both sides Mazda,
that moved by the Right we may live.

the ordeal

What by Fire Thou givest, O Spirit,
and through Right*, the two-strivers teaching; --
What doctrine is for discerners,
tell us this, that we know it, Mazda,
Tongue of Thy mouth declare it,
that we turn all the living to faith!

the power

When to our prayers inclining
are Thine Asha and the ahuras,
Then with Armaiti the blest
and the Best Mind would I implore You;
Give me the powerful Kingdom;
through its might let us smite the foe.

for light

This tell that I discern it
what through the law Ye give as the better
Whose atonement I may know
and ponder through Thy good mind,
Those things, O Mazda Ahura,
which should be, or should not be.

the Word and the Kingdom

To him was that best of blessings
Who told me the truth, the discerning,
That manthra which was the word
of Health, Right, and a Life undying;
To Mazda shall be such a Realm
as shall grow through His holy mind*!

ever unchanged

Who first thereon conceived:
'be the heavens' clothed in stars',
By mind is the Law's arranger,
to uphold the devoted saint;
Both, Mazda, shalt Thou prosper;
same Thou art and abidest ever.

sovereign!

Foremost I thought Thee, Ahura,
adored with the mind in creation,
The good man's* father, Mazda,
when with eye at the first I seized Thee,
Establisher of Thy law,
the Lord in the deeds of men.

* or 'be the glorious truths clothed in light'.

derotation

Thine was Piety verily;
Thine wisdom,* the Kine's creator,
The spirit's wisdom, Ahura;
since for Her¹ a path Thou hast given;
By the tiller aided* she goeth,
or from him who was never tiller.

the choice

Of both chose She the tiller,
the zealous for Her and the thriving,
A lord most truly holy
with the wealth of a righteous mind;
Ne'er, Mazda, shall the nomad
nor infidel share our lore!

the beginning

When first, O Lord, Thou-madest
our homes and our sacred laws,
With Thy mind our understanding,
and did'st frame corporeal life,
When rites Thou did'st fix and doctrines
Where the pious may gain his faith . . .

the voices

There high, his faith to utter,
his voice lifts the truthful or liar,
Learnèd, or not instructed,
with heart and the mind devoted;
But the faithful steadily questions
both spirits where they abide².

¹ corresponding with the plural word 'Kine' used for euphony here instead of 'Cow'.

² see the word for word, etc.

the all-seer

What questions are asked which are open,
or what questions are sealed and forbidden¹,
Or who for a little sin
binds on the heaviest penance,
With brilliant eyes as a guard
on all with the Truth Thou art gazing . . .

the rewards

This then I ask; 'what judgments
are passing now, and will pass?;
What debts are paid in justice
for the offerings of the holy;
And what is the wicked's charge;
And their portion what in the judgment?

the throne

This ask I, what his judgment
who prepares the throne for the faithless,
For the evil-doer, Mazda,
Who his bread not else is gaining
Save as harming the Tiller's flock,
(his) who does not serve the Lie-druj²

God's own

How thus shall he, I ask Thee,
who o'er dwelling, district and province,
Generous and wise, the rule
in our Law to promote is striving —,
Shall he become like-Thee; —
when thus shall he be?; —
through what actions?

¹ see the word-for-word.

² the Demon inspiring the enemy.

the rivals

Which creed as the creator believeth
the faithful, or is it the foeman?
Let the enlightened speak to enlightened;
let the foolish no longer beguile us;
Be Thou, Ahura, our guide,
light-giver to Thy servant.

to arms!

Not one of you lend a hearing
to manthra or creed of that sinner;
For house village, district, or province
he gives to destruction,
Leaves them in ruin and death; —
then hew ye them all with the halberd!

the true teacher

Hear they Him who the Right conceived
for our folk, the all-knowing Ahura.
For the creed-speaking saint to speak forth
with infallible voice is He mighty; —
With flame of Thy Fire He speaks,
sent forth as the test to the strivers!

the betrayer.

But he who betrays the saint
for him shall at last be destruction,
Long life in the darkness his lot,
foul his food with revilings loathsome; —
This be your world, O ye curst,
by your deeds your own souls will bring it!

the final prize

But Mazda Ahura will give
both Health and a Life undying
With the fulness of His law
from Himself as the guard of His Kingdom;
And the Good Mind's power He 'll send
on His friend in his deeds and spirit.

conclusion

Clear are these things to the wise
as to one with his mind discerning;
With holy power he serves
Thy law in his words and actions;
And he shall be helpful to Thee,
a being strongest to succour!



Y. 31. Word-for-word, etc.

1. It is difficult to see how one verbatim rendering could differ from another here save as to the choice of synonyms and one particle; (see my Latin in the Gâthas at p. 52): 'These Your religious-statutes [or "therefore" Your religious-statutes] memorising let-us-pronounce words [as yet] unheard, [i. e. not obediently heard], (b) to-[or 'by']-these who will-destroy the-settlements of-Asha [as the personification of the holy-constitution or law] by-the-[false]-religious-statutes *¹ of-the-harmful-demon of-the-Lie [the inverted Asha]; (c) but-indeed the-best words to-those who will-be heart-given to-Mazda'.

2. Here we have a most interesting suggestion from my revered friend Professor R. v. Roth of Tübingen; instead of rendering *a* 'if by-these-[statutes] the undoubted verities are seen [to be] the better [thing] for the soul' he suggested another reading of the text itself: 'if therefore [i. e. 'by these means'] the better way is in-observation for-the-soul'. For comparative religion however the difference is practically nil;—to continue; '(b) then to-you all I-will-come as Ahura Mazda knows His-regulation [His definitive and recognised plan of procedure with its instrumentalities] (c) over-the-two-parties in-order-that [or 'whereby'] we-may-live in-accordance-with asha [as the sanctity of the law]'.

3. Here again the practical differences in opinion are very small indeed: 'What satisfaction Thou-shalt-give both by-spirit and by-fire and what Thou-may'st-assign by-asha [as the sacred regulations of the constitution] to-the-two-contending-parties, (b) and what religious-statute [is] for-the-enlightened, tell us this for-[our]-knowing O-Mazda; (c) with-the-tongue of-Thy month, whereby I-may-cause all [the right]-living to-choose [aright, i. e. all 'to believe', or 'that I may convert all who live (even those who favour the opposing party)']', the word rendered 'to-the-two-contending-parties' by a brilliant, but now antiquated, suggestion was once rendered 'by-the-two-kindling-sticks' but the difference really involves nothing vital to the general sense of the strophe. The 'kindling sticks' were also a necessary part of the fire arrangements; as we may

¹ Notice the full recognition of a political-religious organisation as existing among the adherents of the hostile party, a point of great critical importance.

say in passing, and the 'two contending parties' had just been mentioned in the last line of the previous strophe.

4. Here again, save as to one expression, there is scarcely a difference in opinion: 'When Asha [as the personified sanctity of the law] may-be propitious [some others prefer 'may be strong'(?)] and the ahuras of-Mazda, (b) with-the-blessed¹ Aramaiti [as the personified pious-alertness of the obedient mind] I-will desire, [i. e. I-will-pray-for] (c) the-powerful sovereign-authority for-me by whose strength may-we-slay the Druj [the harmful Demon of the Lie (a chief Goddess of the enemy)]'.

5. 'This tell me to-discriminate, [i. e. that I may discriminate] what through-asha [as the sacred constitution of the religion] Ye-gave as the-better [thing] (b) to-know with-a-good mind and to-animadvert-upon, [i. e. 'to-ponder' that] of-which [whose'] [meaning 'from which' is] my right** [or 'justification'] (c) those things what-soever-(they may-be), [or 'those-two-things-whatsoever'] which either may not be, or may-be'. Latin verbatims could only differ here in the choice of synonyms, save as to the word rendered 'right'; I offer the alternative 'of which may prophet [is]', i. e. to the service of which interest he appertains'. There is also a difference in opinion as to the extent of the meaning of the last line c. Some would confine it to an allusion to futurity, 'what shall not be, or what shall be'. ** see Comm. p. 453.

6. Not a solitary individual word here is obscure, yet the terms are scant and leave us in some doubt as to what the exact point may be: 'To-him was that indeed the best, who having-known, declared to-me truly the-manthra, [i. e. 'the spiritual hymn', or 'word of reason'] which is that of-healthful-weal and-deathless-(long)-life; (c) to-Mazda is such sovereign-power as grew to-Him through-the-good-mind'. I formerly held, and I am still inclined to the opinion that 'the best' refers to what was told by Mazda as the Manthra; and this is summed-up in the last line which is significant enough; 'Mazda's Kingdom grew through the good mind'. But the word 'best' being a neuter, may refer to 'the Kingdom': 'to-him was the-best [sovereign power] . . . to-Mazda was such a sovereign-power as grew to-him in-accordance-with-the good-mind';

¹ Some regard this word as a proper name, but the name would mean the 'blessed reward' personified, simply the noun-form of the adjective.

that is to say, 'a sovereign power thoroughly imbued with', or 'founded upon' benevolent wisdom of a religious type'. But the same practical lessons result from either view.

7. Here once again there is only a choice between a beautiful allusion and one still more beautiful: 'He who first thus thought 'let the heavens¹ be-clothed with-stars'', (b) He [is] through-understanding the-one-ordering the-law whereby he-will-maintain the-best mind [in His people] (c) these¹ may'st Thou increase, O-Mazda, spirit, who art Ahura, the-same at-every-now'.

8. There is again little room for serious difference in opinion here; certainly little in the choice of a purely verbatim translation: 'Then I-thought Thee first, O-Mazda to-be-adored for [or 'in (?)'] the-land¹ with-the-mind, (b) the-father of-the-good mind [in the saintly citizen, i. e. 'the father of the good man'], when in-the-eye I-seized Thee, (c) the-veritable² establisher of-asha ['as the sanctity of universal law], the lord in-the actions of-life, [or 'of the world', (but possibly meaning 'the lord giving the law for guidance in the actions of the people' rather than as 'controlling like a sovereign disposer, the actions themselves')]. Some hold the word which I rendered 'for (or 'in') the land' to mean 'to be'; we may therefore, to please such an objector simply omit the words 'for the land'. 'I thought Thee to be? the first object to be adored with the mind ...'. The sentence thus curtailed does not lose very much (1).

As to the word 'establisher' we might say possibly 'creator'; the meaning implies 'the author-of-production, or regulation', in some form or other.

9. It is difficult to see how one verbatim of this strophe could differ from another, except in the choice of synonyms; yet there is considerable difference in the form which we might give to line

¹ the word rendered 'heavens' here may however not mean 'heavens'; in fact that would be its secondary sense, but 'glorious-objects' may be meant; possibly the glorious truths, or 'the doctrines' of strophe 1, and summed-up in the 'manthra' of verse 6. Then we might also render: 'Who first conceived these-things, viz. that the glorious-objects, [the truths], were clothed in lights, [that is to say, ready to be revealed in the stars, or possibly 'in the altar flames'; but whether the sentiment is 'the heavens clothed in stars', or 'the glorious truths clothed in the lights', this, whichever way it may be decided, does not affect the main fact intended to be declared, viz. 'that He is the ordainer of the Law' (which regulates every department), etc.

c, 'though the interior result does not materially vary in the two cases: 'Thine was aramaiti, [the alert-and-ready-mind-to-act]; 'Thine was understanding, the Cow's fashioner [or 'creator'] (b) that of-the-spirit, O-Ahura Mazda when for-her [the Cow] Thou-did'st-establish a-path'; (so far there is little difference). Line c was rendered by Roth 'to leave the husbandman who was verily no husbandman'. But I do not find that at all so natural a turn of thought for the Gâthas: 'the bad saint' (sic) is not the subject in hand at the moment. See also the next strophe which speaks of a choice between two opponents; so I render line e literally 'from-[or 'by']-the-husbandman [guided on that path (see line c)] to-go [or 'she-goeth'], or [by-him] who was not a-husbandman', [that is to say, 'who was of the hostile party opposed to the sacred agricultural State']'.

Strophe 10 proceeds: 'for then of-these-two she chose-to-her-self the-husbandman the-thrifty-cattle-breeder (b) as a-righteous* master the-wealth of-the-good mind [in the orthodox citizen, i. e. the wealth of the good man', or even better, 'the wealthy one of the good mind'], not, O-Mazda [is] the-non-agriculturalist the crafty-deceiver, [i. e. the furtive-spoiler] a-sharer of-the-holy-lore, [that is to say, 'he shall not be a sharer in the privileges which appertain to the holy-religious system with its promises of rewards here and hereafter'. While the terms seem perfectly clear to an unprejudiced investigator, differences in opinion have arisen concerning the word rendered 'she'; some regard it as equalling 'these-two'. But 'of these two' is expressed in the immediately following word. The spirit of exhaustive criticism should be prepared to recognise at once differing applications of the same forms of words. In the Gâthas we should never advance beyond our cradle if we allowed ourselves to be stopped by a form which looks difficult because it is used elsewhere in a certain sense. It is the chief part of our business to discover such forms, and to assign to them their proper functions in different occurrences, or at least to recognise them as corruptions to be 'restored' by ourselves to more regular phases. Then some writers cannot believe that a 'holy lord' could refer to a 'sainted chieftain' because the same words occur elsewhere in reference to Ahura. But it is a striking circumstance in the Gâthas that we possess this word '*ahura*' as meaning a 'human lord' more than once, and that in a piece where 'Ahura Mazda' occurs frequently. There seems to have been a touch of pantheism

running throughout this theology. The saint Zarathushtra at least is so near God that at a later stage he is quite a demi-god; but this present work is not a book for close technical arguments; see my *Gâthas* at page 66 and 458 fig., also my *Dictionary* at the words, (for it may be issued when this is read). Some writers purposely straining after effect, object to the extremely well-called-for rendering 'deceitful-despoiler', rendering, after the one great teacher, Roth 'though he may strive for it, he will not get a good report'. I would only say that I regard these renderings as being especially clumsy and forced. Yet even they do not divert the trend of the sense; if the words do not mean 'gain a good report' yet that idea is elsewhere expressed; and if Ahura 'chooses the' way for the Cow' as well as 'establishes it' why then He takes all the more interest in her case; but a very valuable chain of thoughts is lost by such a rendering.

11. The radical meanings here are as usual all perfectly clear, though we may, also as usual, considerably change the colouring of our free rendering: 'When for-us, O-Mazda, Thou-did'st first make our settlements and laws, (b) and with-Thy mind our understandings, [(possibly referring to the mental training of the faithful)] when Thou-did'st-establish our bodily-vigour (c) and did'st-arrange both actions, [i. e. courses of moral and perhaps also (though only in an inferior sense) of ceremonial deeds] and doctrines where-the-one-who-exercises-his-choice may-gain [his] religious-convictions...'

Some others take a more ideal and therefore a more hazardous and presumptive view (so to say): 'Since Thou-hast-formed our beings [quite a strained sense, for the word unquestionably means 'settlements', though its root-idea is that of life'], and consciences, [a common word for the 'accepted religion' though its original sense of 'conscience' often reverts] and our intelligence'. Here is a whole string of abstracts, quite in the spirit of a beginner, whereas it is a canon of criticism to read an ancient document as much in the realistic sense as may be possible. But it is my specific duty at the present time to state that the verbatim and radical renderings would be the same whichever one of the above views we might accept; this is one of the ever-recurring chief facts.

12. The sole difference in opinions as to the root-meanings here present occurs as to the last word. Some read: 'Aramaiti unceasingly questions with [Thy] spirit wherever faults may be...';

I need hardly say that I greatly respect this opinion of Roth's; but see my Gâthas at the place in texts and commentary for a refutation. I particularly object to 'questions with [Thy (?) spirit]'. 'Piety thoroughly questions the-two spirits where they-abide, has decidedly more point to it, beside being corroborated by another passage in which the crucial word which I render 'at-home' occurs. My English verbatim would be: '... there the falsifying infidel lifts his voice or the truth-speaking, [i. e. 'the orthodox saint'], the-knowing, [i. e. 'the enlightened'] or the not-knowing with-his-heart and-his-mind, [his will and his intellect] (c) according-to-[regular]-continuity, i. e. ['steadily, or 'searchingly'] the-one-endowed-with-the-alert-and-ready-mind, i. e. Aramaiti¹ questions the-two-spirits where [they-are] in-abode, [i. e. 'each in its proper sphere of knowledge or of-influence', or, possibly 'where', i. e. 'when' the one of alert attention is in his full sphere of influence (or again the idea might be 'where he is propitions')]''. ¹ is Â. mase. here?

13. A literal rendering here can (again) only vary in the use of synonyms: 'What manifest, or 'open' questions are-asked (or possibly 'one-asks')], or what questions, O-Mazda, [are] secret, (b) or who for-a-little offence binds-on the-greatest penance; (c) these all in-Thy glittering eye Thou-art-looking upon with-asha, [i. e. 'in accordance with the exactness of a holy scrutiny', (i. e. 'Thou can'st discern the most hidden mystery as one who is most searching in his inquisition', or 'Thou dost detect the one asking the hidden, or 'forbidden (?) questions')]. For other casts, see my Gâthas; according to one: 'What open faults, or secret ones, she inquires into' is the meaning of line a; but the word 'faults' does not occur there; — the subject in hand is rather doctrine than morals. The doctrines were clearly manifest, or profoundly mysterious; see Y. 29, 3, 4. etc. This idea is one of the most obvious in all practical theology, and then there was the question of penance, which some were inclined to make excessive: I have however lately conceived the idea that 'who binds on the heaviest penance' may be applied to Ahura, to express the severity of His scrutiny and that the hidden doctrine was only in a secondary sense; if at all, 'forbidden' that the whole strophe merely refers to Ahura's omniscient penetration into (first) mysteries of doctrine and then into moral delinquencies with no immediate reference to men at all. The verse may merely be intended to give a reason

why the alert-minded saint should question Ahura. Here we have a fair specimen, of a Gâthic difficulty; does line *b* refer to God or to man? Yet the grand idea of line *c* is totally undisturbed following, as it does, immediately upon a great difficulty; and to point out just such facts is one immediate object of this book.

14. '[T]herefore and because Ahura gazes with glittering eye upon all, the composer asks in words of themselves once more absolutely without difficulty]: 'These [questions (see 13 *a*)] I will ask Thee 'what [things] are', [i. e. 'what things are happening'], and what [things] will-happen; what prayers-expressing-claims-as-if-for-debt are-given, [i. e. acceded-to] of-the-offerings, ['with reference to the offerings'] from-the-holy-saint, [i. e. what debts will be paid him'], and-what-[are-the-prayers-confessing-debt]-for-the-evil-[infidel], and how these shall-be; what [is] in-the-consummation.' ¹

15. Here both the letter and the spirit are clear to all: 'I ask such-a-thing: 'what damnation shall-be-for-him who prepares the-throne [or 'sovereignty] for-the-evil-infidel, (b) for-the-doer-of-evil-deeds, [and (possibly) also 'of-evil-rites'], O-Ahura, who does-not-obtain his life, [i. e. his livelihood] (c) without harm of-the-flock of-the-pastoral-husbandman and-of-the-man-not-devoted-to-the-harmful-demon-of-the-Lie, [i. e. 'who does not utter the creed of the lie-demon who animates our marauding foes']'.

16. Every word here is again clear as to both root and form: (a, b) 'I-will-ask Thee such [a thing as this]: how he who doing-aright was-striving to-further the sovereign-power-of-[i. e. 'over']-the-dwelling-house, of-[i. e. 'over']-the-district, or of-[i. e. 'over']-the province by-asha [i. e. 'under the influence of holy laws so conducive to progress'] (c) how and when he-may-be [as] having-Thee, [i. e. as 'like-Thee, worthy-of-Thee, or as Thy servant'], and-what-deeds-doing, [he may become thus worthy-of, or 'like'-Thee']'.

17. Here, as so very often, every syllable is clear as to its original meaning, the sole differences concerning a subordinate point: 'Which-thing-of-the two [as] the-greater [thing] does the faithful-saint, or the evil-infidel believe; (b) let the-enlightened speak to-the-enlightened; let not the-unenlightened continuing-on-deceive; (c) be-Thou to-us, O-Mazda Ahura [as] the-enlightener of-the-good

¹ some see here; . . . 'claims upon the righteous and upon the wicked, and how these will stand when the claims are balanced'.

mind, [i. e. 'of the good-minded-man', (or 'tell us, O-Mazda, as the enlightener of the good-minded-one)']¹.

18. I know of no differences here; 'Let not any one then listen-to, [i. e. 'let-him not give-ear to']-the-manthra¹ [the profane-metrical (?) -composition] of-the-evil-infidel, (b) for house, village, district, or province he-will-place (c) in-misery and in-death; so hew-ye them with-the-battle-axe'.

19. Differences occur as to the radical meanings only on one word which is in a qualifying, but not vitally important, position: 'let-him-listen to-him [lit. 'let him give-ear to him] who thought [-out] the-law for-the-people, [or 'for the lives bodily (?) and spiritual (?)'] the-enlightened' O-Ahura, (c) for-the-truth-speaker, [i. e. for-the-adherent-to-the-holy-statutes], having-power of-, [i. e. 'over']-words, [i. e. knowing the statutes thoroughly and by heart], free-of-tongue, [having them at his tongue's end], in-accordance-with-Thy red fire, [i. e. in its holy presence as an omen] sent-apart in-the-good [in the interest] of-the-two-contending-sides, [the enlightened and unenlightened']; see above and throughout from strophes 2 or 3'. Others apply the word 'truth-telling' in a different manner. I would emend their view thus: 'listen to-the-teller-of-the truth' [the orthodox exponent of our creed], who thought-out the law, etc. . . .'; but they render, 'listen-to-his assurance, he knowing it through-(?) Ahura [the name of the Supreme Being would not so naturally stand in the instrumental], mighty-of words [He rules his tongue] (c) in view of thy bright fire produced from the two good rubbing sticks'.

20. Here we have a typical case to illustrate what I am chiefly endeavouring to impress upon non-specialists in the present volume. We have a most vivid and graphic strophe, but so inverted and enfeebled by some writers that its points as a statement is greatly impaired, if their views are correct (founded however as they admit upon imperfect studies). Yet do what one will to obscure the passage only one word is really in doubt; I render verbatim: 'Who may render the saint deceived [or 'deliver him to-the-deceiving-one'] to-him [shall be] later destruction (b) long life of-darkness, evil-foed, lowness of-speech; (c) this your

¹ Notice once more the clear recognition of a recognised religious system as established among the hostile party.


life O-ye-evil-infidels with-[your]-own deeds, [your] religion '[or 'religious nature will-bring-on']'.

Another view was: 'He who makes a-righteous-man suffer the extreme ruin, long-enduring darkness, evil-food, his-own soul will [as a punishment for this treatment of the righteous] lead him through-his deeds to-the-place of-the-wicked' (?). But the 'long life in darkness', 'vile food' and 'low speech' were distinct features of Hell even referred to in the Gāthas (see the souls meeting the tyrants with evil food in Y. 49, 11). These items of misery could not well be included among inflictions even unjustly visited upon the saint; see the graphic Yasht 22 as reproduced in Parsi literatures with its allusions to the reviling speech' as well as 'poisoned food' with which the tormenting souls meet the condemned spirit.

Another rendering I would term one of the feeblest ever suggested by a pair of able men working together: 'he who comes-over (here choosing a different *text* from that which gives us 'who renders'; see above) to-the-righteous for-him hereafter will-be spared the-long duration of-misery and darkness, the evil food, etc. . .'. It is, or should be a canon of criticism that in the midst of fervent diction detailed horrors should *not be put in the negative*; — it seems to me to be excessively out of form to say that the 'righteous shall be spared something' with a long list of the horrors escaped; these details are needed in the *positive* form; to maintain the aesthetic effect of the execration. In a moment of passion the composer would have depicted the heavenly satisfactions gained by the penitent, not cataloguing negatively the items of infernal sufferings escaped. Yet let it be noted that this latter opinion which I reject leaves the terms in their natural sense as describing the features of future retribution, *while the exceedingly important last line is not interfered with by any one of the differing renderings.*

21. The differences in opinion here, (which are some of them more mechanical efforts to say something now) do not affect the general sense; and the words (save one) are hardly disputed as to their radical force: 'Mazda Ahura will-give healthful-weal and-deathlessness (b) with-the-fulness of-asha [as the beneficent influe nce of the religious constitution] He a-sheltering-protector from-His-own sovereign-power, [He will give] the sustaining-power of-His good mind, [i. e. of His beneficent wisdom to-him] who is to-Him in-spirit and in-action a-true-friend'.

See my Gāthas for alternative translations: 'M. A. will-afford the protecting-rule'... instead of 'he will-give as a protecting-ruler'... and 'with-the-plenitude of-healthful-weal and of-death-lessness'... etc. It will be seen that the effect is identical whichever particular rendering we choose.

22. Here we have no particular differences that I am aware of in modern translations, certainly none with reference to the radical meanings present: 'Clear are these [-things] to-the-one-who-disposes-aright as to-the-one-knowing with-mind; (b) with-the-good sovereign-power he-follows asha [as the sanctity of the law] by-word and by-deed; (c) he-shall-be to-Thee, O-Mazda Ahura a-most-promotive stand-by, [i. e. a-most-efficient devotee]'.


YASNA XXXII.

The struggle and its reverses.

The composer seems to see the Daêva-party arrayed against him, and as if engaged in hostile devotions. But the friendship of Ahura is before his mind; and he prays that he and his colleagues may become, or continue, His apostles, notwithstanding the temporal sorrows which, according to Y. XLIII, 11. he clearly anticipated as the portion of those who would propagate the holy Faith.

2. Mazda answers him, accepting the devotion which he expresses.

3. The composer turns with vehemence toward the daêva-worshippers poetically conceived to be present, and he anathematizes them as the very seed of Satan.

4. They have perverted the people's minds.

5. And destroyed the hopes of mankind for a happy life prolonged on earth and preserved beyond it.

6. 7. He contemplates with religious irony the infatuated security of the wretched delinquents whose errors he is apostrophising; 'not a man of them knows The destruction which awaits him'.

To point his anger he names the apostate Yima whom he supposes to have sinned in first introducing the consumption of the flesh of cattle. He here affords an allusion to an ancient myth; but let it be well remarked that he by no means deals in the production of mythology as one of its creators. (Indeed one of those startling possibilities with which we must become familiar, as we examine more closely our interesting subject, may be before us here. Is it conceivably possible that we have an allusion to a contemporaneous person, and at the same time the original Yima! The words may mean 'a certain Yima'. It seems at first glance (and indeed at the second) incredibly impossible; but if it were possible! — what a document we should have before us! Yama (so) was one of the earliest heroes of Indian mythology).

9. The composer acknowledges that the leader of his opponents has to a certain degree defeated his teachings. And he cries to Ahura and Asha with deeply felt emotion.

10. The infidels blaspheme the most sacred objects of nature.

11. Inheritances are confiscated by the despotic invaders.

12. He announces the judgment of God upon it all, etc. In several instances, centring perhaps in the actual anticipation of a battle (see Y. 44, 15, 16), we see traces of the closeness of the struggle. The two hosts seem to be closing in regular lines for the holy vows themselves; and here we read of 'jealous desire' or 'hearty lamentings', or 'curses'. One might suppose that the Daêva-party were very near to the Zarathushtrian in many of their religious peculiarities, but that they could not accede to the 'dualism' as Zarathushtra put it. After the manner of pagans, so to speak, they implicated God in their sins (compare the drunken Indra and the wife-beating Jove). The composer deplores the stratagems of the Kavis, 14, 15 but supports himself with the hope of ultimate success, anticipating the hour when he shall be borne by the eternal two, Weal and Deathless-long-life, to the abode of the Good Mind; 16 and so he confides all to Ahura, who will support His servants in bringing the wicked to vengeance as he will bring the saints to glory.



YASNA XXXII.

The true apostleship as against the false

Thus his Lord kinsman prayed,
his retainers and loyal peersman,
And demon-servers; but mine
is in mind the true friend of Ahura;
Messengers Thine may we be
may'st Thou hold afar off Thy blasphemers;

accepted

Then answerèd them Ahura
by means of His good spirit ruling,
As from His Kingdom supreme
with His Truth most brilliant and friendly:
"Bounteous and good is your Zeal;
we have chosen Her; may She be ours!"

opposers an evil seed

But your kindred, all ye daêvas¹
are a seed from the mind polluted;
Who praise unto you most offers
is of the Druj and the arrogant will;
Advanced your stratagems are,
ye famed in the sevenfold earth!

the fall they bring

For ye have devised that men
who bring worst deeds to perfection
Speak loved of the demon-gods,
cast out by the good mind and spirit;
And they fall from the thought of the Lord
from righteousness utterly perish!

¹ daêva-worshippers.

their deadly aims

Man therefore will ye beguile
of weal and of life undying,
Since you with his evil mind
the foul spirit rules as his demons,
By speech unto deeds thus false,
as his ruler rallies the faithless *1.

contrasts

Much to do harm hath he striven
with his famed helps, if it be so;
But essential truths hast Thou held
in Thy memory, Lord, through Vohūman;
These in Thy Kingdom I place;
in the Law Thy truths I establish!

blindness.

Of these wretches none may declare
how great are their marshalled forces,
And what as victorious they land,
thus famed by their glittering iron;
But their utter ruin, O Lord,
most clearly Thou seest, O Mazda!

reminiscence and reproduction

Among wretched sinners like these
one Yima was famed Vivanghusa;
The same our men to seduce
flesh of Kine in its pieces was eating;
From such and like guilt may I stand
in Thy searching view, - apart!

*1 or 'as he dooms the accurst to destruction' (a fuller idea).

confiscations and robberies

The herald of creeds that are false
he mars our life's aim by his teaching,
Seizing away my wealth,
the blest and just wealth of the faithful,
With voice of my spirit I cry
to Asha and You to deliver!

blasphemies and devastation

Aye, he would destroy my Word,
who for sight as the worst announces
The Kine for the eyes and the Sun,
and the gifts of the wicked offers,
Who makes our meadows a waste,
and hurls his mace at believers!

plunderers

Yes, such would destroy my life
who consult with the great of the wicked;
From lord and from lady they seize
their wealth and inherited treasure,
Harming Thy saints in their walk,
retarding them from Thy Good Mind.

the foe before Asha

By which word they keep back mankind
apart from the holiest action:
Evil! said God unto these,
who would slay Thy folk's life with its blessings,
Choosing Grehma over Thy Law,
and the Karpans and reign of Druj-servers.

the furious chief

Which powers on his side the Grēhma
in abode of the Worst Mind¹ was seeking,
The peoples' destroyers, they both;
Yes, that Grēhma with passion² bewails;
Thy prophets calling would curse ³,
for it holds him from sight of the holy!

vengeance

Be his Grēhma in chains!
may our plans cast down the Kavis!
Mighty pair in deceit,
since they come as an aid to the faithless,
When the Kine for slaughter was set
and the Kindler of death-slaying³ aid.

after an interval, hopes

Thus hence and with force have I driven
the Karpans and Kavis' disciples; —
And this being past ⁴, those lords
whom they rob of their sovereign power,
Let these by the two be borne-on
to the home of Thy Good Mind⁴ the blessed!

the Sovereign

All this is from that Best One
who speaks from wide light⁵ of the altar⁵,
A Sovereign, O Mazda, the Lord,
O'er what is my grief and my doubting,
When now for the harm of the evil
darts cast from the tongue I am hurling!

¹ at the court of treason.

² or 'that Grēhma bewails with desire, Thy prophets calling *he* seeks, but . . .'.
³ the word so translated may mean 'far-lighting' here but an exactly similar form, differing, if at all only in accent, means elsewhere 'death-afar', i. e. 'holding death afar'. ** cp. Y. 30, 11.

⁴ perhaps 'to the home of the good man'.
⁵ see the word-for-word.



Y. 32. Word-for-word, etc.

1. A very different cast from mine of this first strophe is circulated among zendists having for its author the late eminent Professor R. v. Roth: 'The Daêvas, as daêva-worshippers, were supposed to be addressed in the vocative: "His kinsman, his *verezēna* and his *airyaman* desire to know the friendship of Ahura Mazda . . ., O Ye Daêvas!'"

But strange to say, even *such* a difference as this would not affect the external and literal forms which are quite simple save one; and as regards that one the differences in opinion do not seriously affect the cast of meaning given to the passage. A verbatim would be: 'his Kinsman-lord will-pray [or 'has prayed'], his working-stall-class and his befriended-peer; (b) his [are] the-daêvas, [the demon gods of our foes; but] in-my consideration [is] the-favoured-friend of-Ahura Mazda; (c) Thy messengers may-we-be: may'st-Thou-hold [or 'restrain'] those who treat You with-hostile-malice'. Whether a *hostile* or luke-warm 'kinsman-lord', 'peasantry' and 'peer' are ever really mentioned or not, it is to the last degree probable that these three degrees in the social status *existed* among the hostile party; and they must therefore have been often borne in mind: yet in view of the differences in opinion between other pupils of Roth and me it would not be well to base any close and pointed doctrine on these two lines *a* and *b*; but notice the striking *c*.

2. 'To-these Ahura Mazda ruling¹ with-good mind (b) in-accordance-with-[His]-sovereign-power answered with-asha [as the fidelity of His ever truthful word, perhaps also as personified 'with Asha His] brilliant [or 'beneficent'] good-companion': 'We-have-chosen your âr(a)maiti; [i. e. your alert and ready mind, obedience, or your representative chief filled with the devoted alertness of the mind]; 'she (meaning 'he*') shall-be Ours'.

3. 'Thus you, O-[ye]-Daêvas, [servants of the demon-gods of our foes] are all a-seed from-the-Evil Mind, (b) and-who sacrifices to-you much*, [or 'and what man sacrifices to you'] [is a seed]

¹ some (following Roth) would say 'inclining toward' rather than 'ruling'.

of the-Druj(k) [the harmful lie-demon of our foes, the-inverted Asha], and [of the demon] of-arrogant-perversity, [so in antithesis to the alert-devotion of strophe 2]; (c) in advance [are] your deceits-and-stratagems by-which ye-have-been-heard-of in-the-seventh [quarter]-[of-the-earth, [i. e. in this 'seventh' in which men dwell]].

4. 'Wherefore ye-have-prepared [those-things] which men giving-forth the-worst [results] (b) speak loved of-the Daëvas [the Demon-gods of our foes]] excluded-and-rejected of-the-good mind, [i. e. of the good mind in the saintly community], (c) perishing from-the-understanding of-Ahura and from-Asha [as representing the orthodox people of the land]'. The differences in opinion have but little bearing upon the practical result.

5. 'Therefore ye-will-defraud mankind of-prosperous-life and of-deathlessness, (b) since [he-with] the-evil mind¹ [regulates] you who [are] the-Daëva-demon's-[worshippers] (c) with-evil word [unto] action by-which [this] ruler will-regulate, [or 'has regulated'] the evil-infidel, [or 'by-which, i. e. by which word the evil spirit, or 'fury'^{*1}] assigns the evil-infidel to destruction']'. ^{*1} *ved. manyá*.

6. '[Being] a-person-of-many-injurious-assaults, [i. e. 'being very dangerously destructive'] he-has-attained-his-aim by-which-means he-is-announced, [i. e. he-has-become-notorious]: and if by-these [things], so, (b) O-Ahura [as] holding-really-true-[statements]-in-[Thy]-memory Thou-hast-known [them] through-[Thy]-good mind; (c) [Therefore] I-will-establish these-doctrines [which Thou-dost-know to-be-true] in-[Thy]-Kingdom, O-Mazda, and in-asha [as the legal constitution of the State]'. The differences in opinion here do not practically affect the result.

7. 'Of-these-injurious [persons] [he is] nothing aware that [his] collected-resources [in men and material are] to-be-smitten* (so with one text) (b) which-[resources] he-announces [as] victorious, by-which he-was-heard-of, [i. e. famed] through-[his]-glittering-bronze [weapon]; (c) [of] the-destruction of-which [assembled-forces] Thou, O-Ahura Mazda art most-cognisant'. [Or alternatively: 'he is nothing able to-declare** (so with *another text*) what are his assembled-forces . . .'] which are-announced [as] victorious' . . . Others, following Roth's teachings, reproduced: 'not even a-knowing-one [an-experienced-person is] able to say (b) how-many living he-cuts (so (?)) with-his-glittering steel, of whose fury (?) Thou art

¹ insert here 'the evil spirit' omitted in recopying.

most cognisant]'. The practical result remains somewhat, but not radically affected by these differences in opinion.

8. 'Of-[i. e. among-]-these injurious-persons a-certain-Yima was-said [to be] Vīvaṅghusha, i. e. a son of Vīvaṅghvāit] (b) who desiring-to-please our men was eating the-pieces of-the-cow; [parts of her flesh, (which was forbidden to be eaten among many)]; (c) of-these-[i. e. from-among-these]-whosoever-they-may-be I-am [severed] even in-Thy-discriminating-and-separating-judgment, [that is to say, 'Thou-dost-distinguish between me and them']'. The literal terms and sense are here quite clear. [It is however impossible to pass this strophe without pausing to consider the plain but astonishing fact that Yima Vīvaṅghusha is alluded to as if he were one of the figures in this vivid historical connection. The person is cited as if he were one of the opposing party so pointedly referred-to and with so much feeling. What will able non-specialists say of it, when I point out that Yima Vīvaṅghusha was one of the oldest names in Aryan mythology, the Yama^{*1} of the Veda. Of course I have hitherto regarded it as a mere allusion to a previous antiquity, but see the language: 'a certain Yima V.', or 'even Yima V.'; 'the same our men to content' . . . and he-was, 'of' or 'among', these 'wretches' concerning whom such passionate expressions are used; while the whole scene glows with life. Is it merely an allusion to a still more remote antiquity? I think that our opinion hitherto to this latter effect has been largely influenced by presuppositions, and if the language should really describe what was contemporaneous with the person who composed it, then our document is simply priceless; and the Gāthas are placed at an antiquity beyond our utmost conceptions hitherto. When we also remember that in this Gāthie struggle we have actually the only trace in all history of those mortal estrangements which must have taken place as the two branches of the Aryan race broke apart, we cannot resist the conviction that we are bound in fidelity to science to consider these two circumstances in their natural bearing, one upon the other. ^{*1} son of Vivāsvant.

Was this gāthie quarrel not merely one of the conflicts between Iranian Aryans, and the future Indian Aryans?, or was it one of the very earliest of their hostile encounters?: And if one of the earliest, how remotely ancient must have been the estrangement of which it was the expression? Could the encounters

here alluded to have been so very long after the first estrangements consequent upon separation?; — and if not so long after them what have we to say about this allusion to a remotely ancient name as that of a person 'who was of the number of the wretches' that stirred the early composer's patriotic passions. At all events we have with certainty a conflict between Iranians and tribes who held fervently to the deva-religion of the Rig Veda. (Notice how the scene contradicts the silly hypothesis of a late date).

9. '[As] a-proclaimer-of-evil [proclaiming] doctrines he will destroy the-understanding, [or 'plans'], of-life [or 'of the people'] with-[his]-exhortations (b) taking-away my wealth, the-blest real [possibly 'the eternal?'] wealth of-the-good mind, [i. e. 'of the good-minded man']. (c) With-the-hymn of-my spirit, O-Mazda, I-cry-complaining to-You and-to-Asha, [as to the guardian of right]'.

10. (a, b) 'He will-destroy my doctrines who has-declared [that] the-Cow and the-sun [are] the-worst [thing] to-see with-the-two-eyes; and who offers the-offerings of-the-wicked-infidel, (c) and who makes [our] meadows waterless, [i. e. 'who destroys (or 'neglects') the irrigation'] and who discharges, [i. e. 'lets-fly' his] club at-the-saint'.

11. Here there would be more difference in opinion as to details, but the life of the lines is by no means affected: 'These-even would-destroy my life who have-consulted with-the-great-[ones] of-the-infidel-sinner. (b) He [the infidel sinner] takes-away the-possession of-the-inherited-[wealth] of-the-master and of-the-mistress; (c) who would-retard-by-inflicting-wounds the-saintly [citizens keeping them back], O-Mazda, from-the-best thought [the vestibule of Heaven]'. See Gâthas Comm. pp. 480, 481.

12. Notwithstanding quasi technical differences in opinion as to the precise definitive force of two expressions, the main sense is again unmistakeable here: 'By which word they cause-men-to-fall (?), [or 'by wounding cripple them'] from-the-best action (b); to-these Mazda said: 'evil [are ye]', who would-slay the-Cow's life [meaning 'the supreme cattle interest'] with*-a-friendly-word, (c) by-whom the-Grêhma and the Karpan were-chosen above-Asha, and the government of-those-who-wish-for the-Druj(k) [the harmful-Demon of the Lie, inspiring genius of our foes]'. * 'having a friendly word' (?).

13. 'Which-two [the-Druj(k) and the Karpan] the-Grêhma with-[his] authority, [or 'which-two Kingdoms (but 'Kingdoms' could

hardly be used in an evil sense)] was-observantly-desiring in-the-abode of-the-worst Mind, [i. e. in the cities (or 'at the Court') of the evil-minded enemy'], (b) the-slayers of-this people, [or 'of-this world', or 'life'], and which-two [or better 'and who?'] were-complaining in-desire, [meaning either 'enviously desiring' or 'heartily lamenting', or 'cursing' (so Roth), (c) the-embassy-commission of-Thy prophet, [i. e. 'accorded-to-Thy prophet'] who will-hold them from-the-sight of-Asha, [as the representative of all the sacred influences incorporated in the political-religious organisation]'.
 14. Here we have some severe Gâthic difficulties, but the force of the lines is again too great to be trammelled by them; we might even leave the doubtful words altogether unrendered, as all agree upon the general cast. '[Be] his Grêhma in*-chains* [or 'be he in-terror'; (so I conjecture with a different *text* however N. B.)]; may [our] plans depose even-the-Kavis, (b) powerful-ones even these-two [the G. and the K.'s] extreme*-in*-stratagem*¹ [very-deceitful] since they-will-come, [or 'did come', 'were coming'] [as] an-aid to-the-evil-infidel, (c) and when the-Cow was-declared [to be] for-conquering, [i. e. 'to be conquered', or 'slain', and he] who will-ignite, [our] death-removing² aid'. (Or the word rendered 'death-removing' may here exceptionally** mean 'our far-lighting' aid; i. e. 'the flames of the altar fire').

15. The general sense here, as so often, cannot be mistaken, the particular forms being also very clear; yet differing casts may be given to the free renderings: 'With-those [instrumentalities] will-I-[or 'do-I']-expel what-two [are] the-Karpite, [the 'following and influences of the party known as the 'Karpans'] and-the-Kavite [(so), meaning 'the party attached to the Kavis'], (b, c) upon, [i. e. after³] these [events] let those whom they-render not-[more]-ruling-at-will over-the-people, [or 'over life' (possibly meaning 'not having the power of life and death'(?))], let-these be-borne by-the-two [Haurvatât, i. e. 'healthful weal', and Ameretatât, i. e. 'deathless long-life²] to-the-abode of-the-good mind [meaning either 'to 'Heaven' or 'to the scene of beatified life among men']'.

16. Here we have one of the most uncertain strophes in the

¹ the word which I render 'very-deceitful' is given by other hearers of Roth as meaning 'from of old' (so I believe Haug(?) first printed).

² so, I conjecture from other passages. ³ or 'in consequence of'.

Gāthas for close exegesis, a very battle-corner for experts; yet, leaving the disputed words entirely out and on one side, we can still recover a keen idea: 'All this is from that Best one who is teaching in-the-wide*-light* of-the-altar-flame*', (b) ruling, O-Mazda Ahura, over-what [is] my calamity* [or my] doubt*, [or 'over my terror (some vital interest is involved; perhaps 'over my certainty (?) and uncertainty (?)); (c) when for-vengeful-harm of-the wicked-infidel I am-casting-forth from-my-mouth [missiles, i. e. 'anathemas']'.¹

¹ perhaps 'wide-light' is to be taken figuratively as 'in the wide understanding of the pious'.



YASNA XXXIII.

Prayers, hopes and self consecration.

Brighter times seem to have arrived. The vengeance so confidently promised at the close of Y. XXXII is described as near at hand. In fact the first three verses seem to belong as much to XXXII as to the present chapter. They remind us of the choruses of attending saints or Immortals in Y. XXIX, perfectly germane to the connection, but referring in the third person to a speaker who closes the last chapter with a first, and who begins again with a first in nesse 4. The propriety of a division into chapters here rests upon the fact that the thought comes to a climax at Y. XXXII, 16, beginning afresh at XXXIII, 4. Whether Zarathushtra, or the chief composer, whatever his name may have been, composed these three verses relating as they do to himself, and put them into the mouth of another, is difficult to determine. I doubt very greatly whether the expressions 'I approach', 'I offer' etc., or the words 'he will act', 'let him be in Asha's pastures' are at all meant to express more than some modern hymns which use 'I' and 'he'. Both are in constant employment in anthology with no actual change in the person indicated, 'I' and 'Thy servant' are merely verbal variations. Here however the change is somewhat marked by the allusion to the chastisement of the wicked just previously named. It is to be noticed that the strictest canon with the original, as indeed with the later Zoroastrians of the Avesta was the 'primeval law'. Unquestionably the precepts understood as following from the dualistic principle were intended; that is to say, no trifling with any form of evil, least of all with a foreign creed, was to be tolerated. Ahura had no share in any thing that was in any of its relations corrupt; the Ratu mentioned is said to be as sternly severe upon the evil as he is beneficent to the good.

2. The fierce hostilities hitherto pursued are more than justified.

3 and accordingly the reciter is made to pray for one spiritually enlightened: 'let such an one be supported in his holy toil; let him till and tend, in the sacred pastures of our valleys, but not there alone, in the spiritual pastures of the Divine Benevolence (where the emblematical Kine are grazing). 4. Taking up the peculiar 'I who' of Y. XXVIII, the composer returns to the first person continuing in that form throughout. As it is highly probable that the person who says 'I who' is the same who uses that curious expression in Y. XXVIII, and if we may take verse 14 as fair evidence that Zarathushtra is the speaker here, we acquire some additional grounds for believing that the person who wrote (if we can apply such an expression to any composer of that early day) the words 'to Vishtâspa and to me', 'to Frashaoashtra and to me', 'to Zarathushtra and to me' was universally recognised to be none other than Zarathushtra himself, composing a piece or pieces intended to be recited by another. 4. As if in response to the words in verse 3 he begins a prayer which is only completed by its *izyâ* in verse 6 and which gathers intensity by each preceding turn of words. True to a practical dualism he first abjures the leading sins, and prays not for a 'hundred autumns' of booty and of brutal glory, but for a long life in the Kingdom which was to be established in the spirit of the Divine Benevolence and for paths not only fitted for the war-cart or for commerce, but for those rigidly 'straight' paths of lofty purity in which 'Ahura dwells'. 6. I, he adds once more, I, who am Thine actually invoking priest 'straight' like the 'paths',-am seeking to know from that best mind; to know what? Shall we regard it as a bathos when we read that he prays thus with cumulative urgency to know what the Best Spirit thought should be done for the recovery and perfection of the 'fields'? If we turn to Y. XXIX, we shall see that the identical word there used describes the original want of the Kine's soul. It was 'good field-culture' which She implored as Her salvation; and it was the sacred agriculturalist who alone could afford it; and who as the 'diligent tiller' remained the typical 'saint'. And as his useful deeds in reclaiming, irrigating, and cultivating land were justly ranked as among the first services of a human being, and as the last preparation of the gathered grain was perhaps humorously, but yet none the less pungently, said, to make the Demons 'start', 'shriek' and 'fly' (Vendidad III, 165, Sp.), and as

further a life from the fruits of the earth continues to this day to be the main difference between those who live by murderous theft and those who life honestly, by tilling and pasture, and in nearly the same regions (or at least in regions similarly circumstanced), I think we may not only see no *bathos* here, but on the contrary we may admire the robust common sense of this early religion, and say that a knowledge as to a true policy in its department of agriculture was one of the wisest possible desires, and the most of all things worthy of a 'sight of Mazda', and of 'consultation with Him'. How the fields had better be worked and how the people could be best kept from bloody free-booting as aggressors and as victims, this involved Ahura's Righteous Law, His Benevolence, Government and Active-zeal, the four energetic 'Immortals'; all at once; and this also alone could secure the other two rewarding personifications, Healthful-weal, and Deathless-long-life. 7. Having prayed for that which is the first virtue and blessing of civilised existence, 'work' skilful and successful, he proceeds to other petitions: 'Let Ahura (spiritually) approach and behold the typical worshipper in his fervent devotion and generous oblation; 8. Sacrifice and hymns are as vital as the bare uttered law. 9. 'May the two pious chiefs who bring on Asha to his conquests be borne by Weal and Long-life to the shining home'. 10. Asking Ahura in His 'loving will' to bestow the various phases of happy home-life, the composer prays that their 'bodies' (probably meaning, as in Y. XXX, 2, 'their individual persons') might flourish in the graces of the Good Mind, the Holy-Sovereignty, and the Law. 11. And to this end he invokes these latter in a remarkable verse. Truly astonishing is it indeed that what is in one verse a sublime abstract term qualifying the thought, words, and deeds of God Himself in the adverbial grammatical form should at the next step be invoked and adored as a personal being. Yet here is not one alone of those Supreme Ideas of the Almighty asked to 'come' and as a *person*; but the whole leading Four. They are to 'come' and not that only, but to 'listen and to cleanse'. 12. The 'thrill-law' of the spiritual Chief is as ever the central object of his desire. 13. With a spirituality still deeper than his Semitic colleague, he asks, not 'to see' the person of God, but His 'nature'; and he begs of 'Devotion' as first acquired, practised and then speaking as the Archangel within him and his fellow

chieftains to reveal the Gnosis, the Insight, that is to say, the Religion of the Holy Faith. 14. After this, verse 14 seems a legitimate continuation. Its Zarathushtra may mean 'I' just as 'David' is used by the supposed David for 'me'; and the language can mean nothing but a dedication of all that he is, and of all that he possesses to Ahura.



YASNA XXXIII.

how the champion chief will act

Thus will he¹ act as with those
which were laws of the world primeval;
Deeds most just he will do
for the faithless as for the holy
Frauds of the one he will reach,
and what seemeth right in the other.

vengeance a duty

He who does harm to the faithless
by speech or with steadfast purpose²,
Or whether he does it with hand,
or with benefit blesses our people,
Brings offerings to God's³ will
in the joy⁴ of Ahura Mazda.

be justice in the field

But he who is best to the saint,
whether Kinsman-prince, or a peasant,
Or befriended peer of our King,
or a herdsman clever for cattle,
Be he in Asha's work-field
in the pastures of Thy faithful⁵.

abjuring

I who from Thee am abjuring
rebellion and evil scheming,
All arrogance from our Chief
and the Lie-demon threat'ning the people,
All blamers of the ally,
from the Kine the cheating measure . . .

¹ the leading chief as coming into the Kingdom which was to be established.

² see the word-for-word.

³ possibly 'to the Faith'.

⁴ 'in the love' (?) of A. M.

⁵ 'of the Good Mind'.

invoking

I who invoke loyal faith¹
to Thee all-greatest for succour,
Gaining long life for myself*
in the Realm where the Good Mind² is ruling,
And paths that are straight from their Truth,
where Mazda Ahura is dwelling . . .

imploing

. . . an invoker unerring through Truth
from the Best spirit will I implore it,
From him with this thought will I ask
how he thinks our fields should be cultured**;
These are the things³ that I seek
from Thy sight and the words of Thy counsel.

the great listener

Come Ye then, Mazda, O best* One*,
to my ritual, mine in-verity;
Through the Law let them see with the faithful
how to me the great Magavan listens;
And manifest be there among us
the manifold offerings of praise!

the goal of the Yasnas

Declare for me then the true rites
that with Good Mind I may approach them,
Your praiser's Yasna, Lord,
or Your words, O Asha, for chanting,
Your gift is the Life never-dying
and continuous Health Your possession!

¹ sraosha, obedient listening; see Y. XXVIII, 5.

² possibly meaning 'the good man'.

³ the entire subsistence and morale of the community depended upon this first great experiment in systematic agriculture.

and for the chiefs

And let this bear on the spirit
of Thy two law-promoting rulers
To Thy brilliant home, O Lord,
with heavenly wisdom's meaning
To arouse the help of these two¹
whose souls are as one united!

prosperity unlimited besought for

All prosperous states for our land
which have been and still are existing
Or which yet may be coming on,
do Thou grant us these in Thy love²;
Increase Thou in joy our being
through Thy Power, Thy Good Mind and Law:

the Archangels

Ye, the most bounteous Mazda
Ahura, and Zealous-Devotion³
And Asha⁴, the settlements furth'ring,
thou Good Mind⁵ and Kingly Power⁶,
Hear ye me all, and cleanse me
for all deeds which I do whatsoe'er!

strength and a leader

Arise to me, O Ahura!
through Devotion send me power,
Most bounteous spirit, Mazda,
for my good invocation's offering;
And mighty strength give Asha,
and a thrift-lord with Thy Good Mind!

¹ Vishtāspa and Jāmāspa; see Y. 49, 9; or Jāmāspa and Frasha-oshtra.

² every critical consideration exacts this rendering. God would not be called on to grant the *hujiti* 'all the good of life' either in His 'will' or in his mere selfish 'delight'.

³ Āramaiti.

⁴ Asha.

⁵ Vohu-manah.

⁶ Khshathra.

for light

For grace, that I see Thee fully
 reveal to me, Mazda, Thy nature,
And Thy Kingdom's blessings, Lord,
 the rewards of Thine own good-minded,
Yes, now¹, O thou bounteous Devotion,
 through the Law light up our souls²!

results, consecration

As offering Zarathushtra gives
 the vital force of his body,
And he offers to Mazda his headship
 supreme o'er the good-minded men *
And to Asha his first-ness* in deeds
 and Obedience of vows and his sceptre!

¹ lit. 'forth'. ² or 'show forth the religious precepts' (an identical result).



Y. 33 Word-for-word, etc.

1. As to the third line there is a serious difference in opinion; *a*, and *b* are however simple and clear: 'as with-these [i. e. as with regard to these considerations whatever they were] so will-he-carry-out-for-himself what [were] the-institutions of-the-primeval world; (b) most-just deeds the Ratu will-do for-the saint and what [is due] for-the-evil-[infidel], (c) of-whom, [i. e. both of the one] he-will-reach the-fraud, and what [are] to [him] the-just [characteristics of the other]'. Others follow the old pahlavi commentary, (cp. Gāthas at the place) rendering *c* 'and what [is] for-him even whose frauds and what [are] his just-deeds are-balanced'']. Practically, as is seen, a serious difference exists here; for the old commentators saw a doctrine, of the 'middle state' of souls here; 'of [those] whose good and evil deeds have been equal'. I am however of the opinion that such spun-out theories came later; they do not seem to me to belong at all to the gāthic period.

2. The terms here are all clear, and no verbatims could materially differ from one another; yet different casts might be given to the sense in the necessarily free renderings, (*a*, *b*): 'but [he] who does ill to-the-evil-[infidel] either by-word, or by-thought, or with-the-two-hands, i. e. 'by-action'] or in-a-good, [effect, i. e. 'beneficently', 'for their benefit'] instructs the populace, [or 'the faithful'], (*c*) these are-effecting offerings to-the-holy-faith [or 'to-the-will-of [God'] in-[their]-delight toward-[lit. 'of']-Ahura Mazda'. The meaning may be 'to the delight of Ahura Mazda'; we should however not expect the locative case if this latter were the meaning, but the dative. It will be best however not to press this expression 'in their love toward Ahura' too closely, 'in the emotional will', 'delighted choice' of Ahura, may be the true meaning.

3. No difficulties are apparent here: '[he] who [is] best to-the-saint, either [as] kinsman-lord, or [as] working-stall-peasant, (b) or with-the-allied-peer, O-Ahura, intelligent, or [endowed]-with-energetic-zeal for-the-Cow, [i. e. 'for the highest of our interests, the cattle-culture]; (*c*) so let-him-be in-the-pasture-field of-asha, [i. e. 'in the routine of steady labour under every sacred obligation and guaranty'], and of-the-good mind, [i. e. 'of the regular citizen

pledged to every beneficent policy and animated by the national religious spirit¹’.

4. This strophe is simple and clear: ‘[I] who am-deprecating from-Thee, O-Mazda, disobedience and an-evil mind, (b) and also insolence, [or ‘the equivocating avoidance of all active duty, (the inverted āramaiti, which was the ‘alert mind for devoted zeal’)] from-the kinsman-[lord], and the Druj(k) [the harmful lie-demon] nearest-[approaching] from-the-toiling-stall-peasant, (c) [abjuring, and deprecating] also-the-blamers from-the-allied-peer, and the-worst-measure from-the-fodder, [or ‘the gathered pasture’] of-the-Cow...’.

5. ... ‘[I] who Thy Sraosha, [i. e. ‘obedience toward Thee’; possibly meaning ‘the man who is obedient toward Thee’] am-invoking [as] the-all-greatest for-aiding (b) having-gained long-life, [i. e. probably meaning ‘eternal life’] in-the-kingdom of-the-good mind [either ‘in the perfected scene of good government’, or ‘in Heaven’, attaining] (c) to-paths straight in-accordance with-asha [as the exact integrity and justice of the law] in-which [streets, or ‘paths’] Ahura Mazda dwells...’

6. ‘[I] who, an-invoker just in-truth as-such desire [to-know] from-the-best-spirit (b) from-him with-that-[good intention of] mind what-]-things, i. e. ‘what agricultural labours’] he-thought should-be-done; (c) these-things of-Thy-sight and-consultation, O-Ahura Mazda, I-seek, [i. e. ‘these advantages’, or ‘results’ of-a-sight of-Thee and-of-a conference-with-[Thee] I-seek’¹]

7. ‘Come to me, O-Mazda, to-my-own best [rites, or possibly, ‘to my-own (rites), O-Thou best one’], (b) and let him [endowed] with-asha, [as the holiness of the law], and with-vohu manah, [‘the benevolent disposition’] see how I-am-listened-to before the-Magavan, [i. e. ‘the one supremely associated with the Maga, the holy Cause’]; (c) let the-brilliant offerings of-self-humbling-praise be manifest amongst-us’.

¹ let it be again remembered that no subject could be more vitally important to the existence of the nation in their experiment than that as to which they asked for a ‘conference with Ahura’, meaning ‘with the most exalted chiefs of the Holy Nation’. Just as Asha means so often ‘the communities which were pervaded and held together by the spirit of the Holy Law’. So ‘the sight of Ahura’ (if the idea was that the people should see Ahura) must have meant ‘the sight of, and the conference with, the Saoshyānts, the most prominent counsellors of the scattered tribes’.

8. 'Forth do-Ye-make-known¹ to-me the-offices [of the ritual] so that I-may-advance-in-their-consummation with-the-good-mind, (b) the Yasna, O-Mazda, of-Your servant [or possibly meaning 'of Yourself'], or, O-Asha, the-words appertaining-to-the-praises; (c) Your gifts [are] the-abiding-two, the-possession-of-deathlessness and of-healthy-weal; [or 'deathlessnesses (sic) and healthfulnesses (sic), a-possession']'.

9. 'Thus to-Thee, O-Mazda, let one* [or 'let him*'] bear the-spirit of-the-two-leaders [as]-increasers-of asha [causing the holy Constitution to be realised, obeyed and extended in its application to increasing settlements], (b) to-the-shining abodes with-super-mundane-wisdom and-with-the-best disposition-of-mind [(this, with a hint toward the thought 'with a mind fitted for Heaven', as the word 'best' was probably in the course of becoming defined in the sense of 'Heaven' as we see from the New-persian term)], (c) [as] a-cooperating-force in-the-arousing of-these-two whose-two (sic) souls are going-on-together'. The literal terms here admit of but little controversy.

10. 'All prosperous-phases-of-life in-[or 'for']-the-land [or possibly 'in-being'] which indeed have-been, and which-are, (b) and-which, O-Mazda are-becoming, [i. e. 'coming-into-being', do-Thou-impart these in Thy delighted-good-pleasure [or simply 'in Thy love'], (c) cause our body, [i. e. 'our person', 'ourselves'] to-increase in-the-wished-for-beatitude through-[Thy]-good mind, [i. e. 'Thy beneficent wisdom], [Thy] sovereign-authority, and asha, [i. e. 'through the beneficent influences of the established religious system, through its laws, and its lore']'.

11. '[He], who is the-most-beneficent Ahura Mazda, and Âramaiti, (b) and Asha [as the personification of the Holy Law] furthering-[the prosperity-of]-the-settlements, and-the-Good Mind [as the personified benevolent wisdom of Ahura], and Khshatira [as the personification of His sovereign-authority], (c) hear-ye-me, pardon, [or 'cleanse'] me for-every-oblation [which I offer, or 'for every device (for good) which I establish']'.

12. 'Up, arise* to-me, O-Ahura Mazda, through-Âramaiti

¹ it is barely possible that the words 'do Ye make known to-me' should be 'do Ye recognise, i. e. accept the offices of sacrifice', etc., but the word 'forth', with 'to me' immediately following seems to show that we should understand 'gain for me', or 'make known to me'.

[the alert and ready mind to act inspired within me, give me] vigour, (b) O-most Bounteous* [with some, 'O-most-holy'] Spirit Mazda on-account-of-my-good invocation-offering, (c) and-through-asha [as the inspiring and guiding spirit of the law give-me] mighty force and a-cattle-chief, [or 'organiser of the cattle-interest'] through-[Thy]-good mind, [or 'endowed with it']'.

13. 'For-helpful-grace in-order-to-a-seeing-at-my-choice, [or 'for a wide-seeing', 'in order that the range of my mental vision may be extended'] show me what [are] Your undeviating-characteristics, [i. e. 'Your-attributes which are the same forever', cp. Y. 31, 7], (b) those of-[Your] sovereign-power, O-Ahura, whereby [is] the-blessed-recompense of-the-good mind, [in the sainted citizen, i. e. 'of the good man']; (c) forth, O-bounteous Âramaiti show-forth the religious-dogmas through-the-law, [or 'enlighten the consciences through the law']'.

14. (a, b) 'Zarathushtra gives the vital-vigour of-his-own-body [or 'person' as] an-offering to Mazda and the priority [the firstness] of-a-good disposition, [to Him; i. e. he consecrates to Ahura that preeminence in the virtues of good-citizenship for which he had become famed], (c) [and he also offers] obedience of-[i. e. 'in']-deed and-of-word to-Asha [as the personified spirit of the law, and with these] the-sovereign-authority, [i. e. 'he devotes the moral supremacy which he has attained in the community to-Him, i. e. to Ahura']'.



YASNA XXXIV.

Offerings and prayers, hopes of the Restoration.

1. For gifts received gifts will be given. 2. The offerings are those of mind and hand from men devoted to the holy system. 3. The myazda-offering is mentioned with reverence and sincerity, 4. and the Fire likewise, which was worshipped, not so much like Agni as the friendly God of the hearth and the altar, but more and chiefly like Agni as the Priest of the Church. Not unlike Agni it is called upon both for inward spiritual strength and for temporal blessings in various forms together with vengeance hurled very much as if in the form of a thunderbolt. 5. Explaining by means of supplications, he asks: 'What is Your kingdom that which Z. establishes and offers to You (cp. Y. 33, 14)? 'What is the kind of wealth which it comprises, not to fatten your priests nor reward your poet, but to feed your poor?'; cp. Y. 53, 9: 'Ye surpass the daêva-worshippers in this. 6. If this be really thus show me a sign, a doubt which enhances faith'. 7. There is no real help but God. 8. The good mind (their 'Holy Spirit') will depart from the negligent. 9. As they in their laxity leave the angel of Devotion, so Asha will turn from them. 10. The foe shall be terrified, and the saint exalted. 11. Devoted Zeal will increase both Health and Deathless-long-life in the Holy Kingdom; and as the Archangels of these gifts, they watch over the waters and the plants, the source of sustenance for that life and health which they symbolise. 12. 'Teach us the paths of the Good Mind, the benevolent true wisdom'. 13. This is the precept of princely Prophet, marking the reward. 14. It is no visionary recompense, but one given for faithful agricultural toil; for this will most of all things bring-on the State of Completion, which is likewise an attainment for the mental as for the bodily existence, Y. 28, 2.

YASNA XXXIV.

Offerings, the Fire, the Rule for the poor, vicissitudes past

The rites by which, and the doctrines,
and the Yasnas by which Deathless-living
And the Law unto these Thou hast given
with the Kingdom of Welfare, Ahura,
To Thee the thank-offerings of these
by us with the foremost are offered!

the nation's pious gifts

Yes, with the mind and to Thee
are all gifts of the good spirit given
By act of the bountiful man
whose soul with the Law is united
In our country's worship, Lord,
and with praisers' hymns to adore You.

the farm-lands loyal

Yes, offerings to Thee, O Ahura,
and Asha with praises we offer,
And for all the farms in our Realm
by grace of the good spirit nourished
To the furtherance of the wise
'midst Your own and in all things a blessing.

the holy Fire

Yes, we beseech for Thy Fire
through its holiness¹ strong, O Ahura,
Most swift it is, and most mighty
to the believer shining for succour;
But for the hater, O Mazda,
it showeth with javelins² vengeance!

¹ Asha. ² see the word-for-word (the lightning?).

Rule for the poor

Your Rule, what is it?, and riches?,
that I be Your help with endeavours
Through Your Law and with Your Good Mind
to nourish and save Your poor;
Foremost of all we declare You
before Daēvas and demonised men!

a sign demanded

If, Mazda, thus in verity
with the Truth¹ Ye are one and the Good Mind,
Then give to me clearly a sign
in this life's entire abiding,
That with offering and more earnest
to You I may go, a praiser.

none save You to help

Where are Thy helpers, O Mazda,
preaching versed in the lore of the Good Mind?
Blessings and treasures 'midst woe
and our grief with far foresight bringing?;
None have I other than You;
through Holiness¹ then do Ye save us!

the panic and its agents

For with fear by deeds do they smite us
amidst whom there was ruin for many,
When as stronger crushing the weaker
was, O Mazda, Thy doctrine's oppressor;
From those who mind not the Law
remote abideth Thy Good Mind.

¹ Asha.

Asha no friend of the lukewarm

He who Thy bounteous Devotion
wisdom blest of Thy saint enlightened
With the evil-doer deserts
in his ignorance of Thy Good Mind
From such an one vanishes Truth¹
as from us foul demons have vanished!

results of fruitful deeds

For the deeds of this Thy Good Mind
the wise-man calleth fruitful,
He knowing the bounteous Devotion,
the true confirmer of Justice;
These all, O Mazda Ahura,
in Thy Realm smite* foes* with* fear².

the eternal two

Thine are they both to nourish,
the Health-giver, and Life's prolonger,
Through the Good Mind's rule hath Devotion
Augmented them through Thy law,
Eternal two-and through these
art Thou Mazda far from Thy haters.

tell us the true ritual

Which is Thy ritual?;
what would'st Thou?;
Speak forth that we hear it, Mazda,
what bestows Thy religion's blessings;
Aye, teach us the paths through Thy Law,
Those verily trod by Thy servant³.

¹ Asha. ² see the comm. ³ by vohu manah.

the path

That path which Thou wilt tell us,
And show as the Good Mind's pathway,
Is the prophets' vows; and through it
The beneficent thrives through his Justice¹;
For it sets for the good a reward
of which Thou art Thyself the bestower.

strong deeds rewarded

For that choice reward, O Mazda,
in bodily life will Ye give me
For the good man's* actions, Ahura,
for those serving well the mother Herd
Have furthered Your holy plan
with the intellect's wisest action.

give light for Frashakard

Doctrines, Ahura, and actions,
tell me which are the best ones, Mazda,
And the debtor's prayer of the praisers,
tell me this with the Law and Thy Good Mind;
And by Sovereign Power and grace
bring on this World's Perfection²!

¹ Asha. ² Frashakard.



Y. 34. Word-for-word, etc.

1. The terms are here all quite simple: 'With-what action, with-what-word, with-what Yasna [i. e. 'liturgical offering'] Thou shalt-bestow deathless-long-life (b) and asha, [as a recognition of sanctity] upon-these [persons], O-Mazda, and-the kingdom of-healthful weal, [the sovereignty, (or 'a portion and result' (?))] (c) of these, O-Ahura is-given, [i. e. 'is-attributed'], to-Thee by-us with-the-foremost [of Thy worshippers: (we are behind none in owing Thee as King')]'.¹

2. The terms are again very simple here: 'And thus these [offerings] are-given to-Thee all with-the-mind of-the-good spirit (b) by-the deed of-the-bounteous [or 'holy'] man whose soul is-united with-Asha [as 'the personified holiness of the law'] (c) in-the-national praise of-the-one-like-You [or 'possessed-of-You' (sic), i. e. 'of You', or 'of Your worshipper'], O-Mazda, with-the-chaunted-hymns of-the-praisers [or 'of the praises']'.

3. The literal terms are clear: 'Thus to-Thee, O-Ahura, and-to-Asha [as the personified attribute of God] we-shall-be-offering the-sacrificial-flesh ((?) or other offering) with-self-humbling-praise (b) for-all the-settlements in-the-Kingdom which are-protected by-the-good mind [in the saintly population] (c) for-the-furtherance¹ indeed¹ of¹ the-well-doing [man] with-all [other instrumentalities], O-Mazda, a-benefit among-Yours, [i. e. 'among Your devoted servants']'.

4. The terms are here of the simplest: 'Thus we-wish-for Thy Fire strong through-asha [as the sanctity of the ritual], O-Ahura; (b) most-swift, mighty for-the-land [or 'for the people'] receiving, [or 'seizing its sacred assurances'], brilliantly-helpful (with-its-flame); (c) but, O-Mazda, for-the-malicious-opposer a-visible-harm with-hand-missiles, [i. e. 'with flames regarded as javelins for the foe']'.

5. The terminology is simple: 'What is Your Kingdom?; what is Your wealth; [show me] how I-may-be* Yours in-actions,

¹ or 'for [we] the-beneficent [are effecting] a useful assistance'... (from line a. Or, once more, 'for I will arouse the beneficent with all... among Yours' (so with the verbal rather than with the nom. form).

O-Mazda, (b) through-asha [as personal holiness] and-through-a-benevolent mind to-nourish Your poor; (c) we-will declare You [to be] before all [before] the-Daêva-demons [of our foes]; and before vermin-polluted (lousy) [evil infidel]-men]’.

6. ‘If thus Ye-are really, O-Mazda, with Asha, [as the personified holiness of God] and-with-Vohu Manah [as ‘the divine benevolent wisdom’], (b) then give-Ye me this sign in-regard-to-[i. e. ‘during’]-all [my] abode of-[i. e. ‘in’]-this life, [or ‘in every house of this people’], (c) how offering-sacrifice and-more-magnifying [You] praising I-may-approach You’.

7. This strophe contains two contested expressions, but they are both somewhat dependent as factors in the sentences: ‘Where [are] Thy helping [sacrificers], O-Mazda, who [are] the-enlightened of-the-good mind, [as the personified benevolent wisdom of Ahura] (b) making even-an-unfavourable [situation] and even-calamities doctrines and treasures (-left-by-inheritance), [or meaning ‘in an unfavourable situation and in calamities delivering doctrine and accumulating treasures’] with-wide-(spreading)-light [from the altar, or ‘with wide’, i. e. ‘for-extended mental light’, i. e. ‘understanding’]; (c) no-one do-I-know (lit. have I known, or ‘gained’) other than-You; through-Asha [as the personified force and sanctity of the religious constitution] thus do-Ye-save us’.

8. ‘For with-these-actions [their entire hostile procedure, diplomatic, ecclesiastical and military] they-terrify us among-whom there-was ruin on-account-of many* [adverse influences or forces] (b) when more-powerful [toward] the-weaker was, O-Mazda, the oppressor of-Thy Religious-statute [and its adherents]; (c) [those] who have not thought-upon Asha [as the guardian spirit of justice] from-these in-the-distance, [i. e. ‘afar has-been’, [or ‘shall be’] the-good mind [the wise benevolence (within the saint) inspired by Ahura]’.

9. ‘(a, b) [They who will-desert the bountiful Âramaiti the-blessed [spirit of active and devoted zeal] of-Thy-knower, [i. e. ‘of the saint who is recognised by Thee, and who has known Thee’] (b) with the evil-doer will-desert[Her]-through-[his]-ignorance of-the-good-mind, (c) from-these [he, i. e. ‘the man’ endowed]-with-asha, [as the fully efficient sanctity of the law] much fails, [or ‘the-man (so, some literally) with-Asha fails [or ‘deserts (departs from

these')] as from-us the-reddish vermin, [depart, they being the especial symbol of accursed pollution!]'¹.

10. One difficult word occurs here; but its general sense as meaning something which is ultimately favourable to the saints may be assumed from the context: 'The-person-endowed-with-effective-understanding will-call the deeds-of-this-good mind, [i. e. in the faithful citizen, i. e. 'the deeds of this good man'] a-fruitful-result (b) [he-]-knowing the-bountiful Âramaiti [-the alert and ready mind to act, i. e. 'possessing this ready mind'] the-veritable establisher-of-Asha [as the holy constitution-of-the-state and church]; (c) and these-influences] all, O-Ahura Mazda, [are] formidable-powers **¹ within-Thy-kingdom'.

11. The actual meaning of one word is here obscure, its general force being however quite evidently plain: 'Thus to-Thee both Haurvatât [the guardian of healthful weal] and Ameretatât [the guardian of deathless long life] [are] for-[our]-food, [i. e. are devoted to guard over our nourishment, the most vital of public interests]. (b, c) Âramaiti, [the alert and diligent Zeal, the 'ploughing'-mind (so possibly)] has-increased, [i. e. 'has caused to prosper' (or possibly 'let A. increase')] the-two-continuous [or 'eternal'] two-mighty-ones, [i. e. 'Haurvatât and Ameretatât'] through-kshathra [as the sovereign authority of the national discipline in our rulers, i. e. 'through the government' (as we should say)] together-with asha [as representing the department of equity in the laws of the religious State]; and through these [efficient-forces or 'persons'] art-Thou, O-Mazda, of-, [i. e. 'within the care of']-Thine expellers-of-hostile-malice*, [or, with another arrangement of text, 'in the friendship (non-hostility) of these art Thou']'.

12. 'What is Thy regulation?; what dost-Thou-desire?; what either of-praise, or of-sacrifice?; (b) speak-forth for-our-hearing ², O-Mazda, what may-bestow Your blessed-rewards of-ritual-observances; (c) teach us through-asha [as the full theology of the

¹ The word so translated may mean 'terrifying influences', as in allusion to Y. 34, 8 'by these deeds they terrify us'; the old Pahlavi commentary makes it mean 'in woe' as 'struck down'. In S.B.E. XXXI I suggested a 'cooperating combination of circumstances' which did not contain an expression of intimidation. In either case some auxiliary influence favourable to the Kingdom is meant.

² or alternatively: 'listen' [to our prayer (the infinitive for the imperative), and 'speak-forth'.

living church (or possibly 'O-Asha', as its guardian)] the-paths the-very-own-of-the-good mind', [i. e. 'of the good-minded saint', 'of thy good man']'.

13. 'The way, O-Ahura, which Thou-did'st-tell me [to be the way] of-the-good mind [in the obedient disciple, i. e. 'the way of the good man' is] (b) the-religious-principles of-the-ones-about-to-bless, [i. e. 'of the princely priests, the leaders of the religious-political community'] whereby the-well-doer progresses in-accordance-with-asha [the justice and equity of the law as expressed by a faultless ritual], (c) since it-assigns-for-itself to-the-well-doers a-reward, O-Mazda, of-which Thou [art] the-bestower'.

14. The terms are etymologically and syntactically clear, but one of them which occurs twice is differently interpreted by different writers: 'For this-desirable [reward], O-Mazda, Ye-give for-the-bodily vigour-of-life through-the-action of-the-good mind [in Thy saint, i. e. 'of the good man'] for those who [are] in-the-working-stall-service [with some writers 'in the stall'] of-the-mother Cow¹ (c) [are] furthering Your beneficent-plan by-the-toil of-the-understanding, [i. e. 'of the policy' guided] by-asha [as the enlightened justice of honourable citizenship]'.

15. 'But tell me, O-Mazda, the best doctrines and actions [yea], (b) those [do] Thou [declare animated] by-Thy-Good mind, [i. e. 'by-Thy beneficent wisdom'], the-confessing-prayer of-the-praiser [aimed like an arrow at its object]. (c) By-Your Klushathra [as Your sovereign power], O-Ahura, may'st-Thou-render the-present [or 'the' (now) really existing'] world progressive in-accordance-with Thy will, [or 'by the exertion of Thy gracious will'; that is to say, 'may'st' Thou bring on millennium' (as we express it)].

¹ the Cow, as usual, represents the all-important cattle-culture.

² some might suggest 'the eternal world'.



YASNA LI.

The Gâtha Vohukhshathra.

1. As so often, the sovereign Authority of Ahura, His Reign over the hearts and minds of His people is here the leading theme. And I cannot see how this 'Kingdom' differs so much from the Israelitish. 1—3 need little treatment here (see below). 4 is striking as a question of emphasis: 'Where is Asha?', and 'where Vohu Manah?' — This was of course no dull query in the literal sense of the word. Notice the intellectual tone of the expressions 'better than the good' and 'worse than the evil' in 6. The questions in 11 remind us of Y. 45. The personal verses from 16—20 are interesting especially for the reason that a 'play' occurs upon the name of a noble maiden, well possibly Pouruchista, Zarathushtra's daughter whom Frashaoshtra presents. The closing words in 22 are especially good.



YASNA LI.

the desirable Realm

Righteous Rule's to be chosen,
lot* of all most rewarding;
Wiser deeds, holy zealous,
'tis through these it is entered ¹
Then this rule let me further
best for us every hour!

the petition

These Your favours first ask I,
Thou Ahura, and Asha;
Grant too thine, O Ârmaiti,
as Your Rule o'er my welfare,
And with Good Mind vouchsafe us
gifts to help on our praise!

the audience

For Your hearing they gather
by Your deeds ever guarded,
Lord of Law, with the hymns
from the tongue of good people ²,
Of whose chants the inspirer
Thou, Mazda, art first.

the questions

Where stands then the Thrift-lord
near the zealous for blessing?;
Whence too cometh Asha
and Ârmaiti** the bounteous?;
Whence cometh the Good Mind
Whence, O Mazda, Thy Power? ³

¹ so, with one text; see Gâthas pp. 341, 594 for alternatives.

² lit. 'of the good mind'.

³ or 'Realm'.

the asker

This all asks the Tiller
how aright* herds to gain* him*;
Wise in praise ever is he,
ever upright in actions;
Laws as chief ever righteous
justly ruling he names.

the answer

Who than good better giveth,
he who gives to our choices
Is the Lord in His Realm;
but him worse* than the evil
Who no just offering bringeth
doth He give in life's end!

the gift of gifts

Give me, thou who art maker
of the Kine, plants, and waters,
Deathless life, O Ahura,
Healthful Weal, Spirit bounteous;
Give me both lasting powers
promised true in Thy word.

the Word

For Thee Lord will I speak;
to the wise let men tell it;
'For the faithless are sorrows,'
but for Truth's friend rewardings';
Yea, in Manthra he joyleth
who speaks to the wise.

the test

To both strivers decision
Thy glowing flame giveth
'midst Thy folk a sign showing
through the scorch of poured metal¹
For the harm of the evil
do Thou rescue the saint.

the foe

Who against that pure manthra
to slay me hath striven,
Of the Demon's home is he,
son of faithless opposers;
But for me I call Asha,
yea, for blessings Thy Law!

the friend?

Who is friend to the Spitâma,
yea, to me Zarathushtra?;
Who counsels with Asha?;
Whose art Thou, holy Zeal?;
Or yet who for the Good Mind's
great cause careth true?

abominations

[Ne'er paederast pleased him,
nor the Kavi with temptings
Him, Zartushtar* the Spitâma
as he grew in this² home²
When they both would approach him
with the bosom's foul lust*.]

¹ or, 'amid'st Thy folk a sword showing with the forged blade of metal'; see the word-for-word.

² see on this difficult strophe Comm. pp. 600, 601.

the avenging truth

For the faithful man's worship
slays the faithless with justice,
While his soul rages fiercely
On the Judge's Bridge clear,
Asha's paths to reach striving
with his rites and his chants!

false allies

Never friend to the people
is the Karpan; fields fertile
He would mar for the Kine
by his rites and his Manthras;
Yea, all through his law
to the Lie-demon brings.

true hopes

What reward Zarathushtra
to his princes hath promised
That in Heaven Ahura
will go to prepare us;
This with mercy and justice
for blessings is fixed!

the true guide

Holy wisdom* Vishtâspa
in the great Realm hath reachèd;
Verse of good men* revealed it;
Through this Law Mazda taught it;
He the bounteous Ahura,
so to teach us in grace.

the personified 'wisdom'

Yes, a blest form Frashaoshtra,
the Hvogva hath shown us
For the good faith endeared;
and may Mazda bestow her ¹
For the gaining of Asha
He our ruler and lord!

as bride

Yes, this Chisti*¹ Jâmâspa
of the rich wealth hath chosen,
The kingdom of good men ²
through holiness gaining;
This too grant me, Ahura,
which such from Thee won.

O Maidyôî-mâonha,
this for us he attaineth,
He so learned in the Insight,
for the people's weal zealous;
Through the Law Mazda offers
for life's deeds best rewards.

to all

This Your blessing to give us
be Ye all of one feeling!
Asha grant us with Good Mind
hymnals sung with Devotion,
For worshipped with praises
they-two seek Mazda's grace.

¹ notice the high refinement of the public under the composer; here is a bride named 'wisdom', quite as in the case of 'Sophia' and the like when they became first used as proper names. ² of the Good Mind.

the true 'stand-by'

Devotion friend's bounteous
in his deed words and wisdom;
Through the Faith the Law's bounteous
and the Kingdom through Good Men**;
Mazda grant me this blessing;
for this grace I beseech.

the ever-living objects of our praise

Him whose best gift from Asha
is mine for the Yasna,
Him Ahura will know:
who have lived and live ever
By their names will I praise
while with faith I draw near!



Y. 51. Word-for-word, etc.

1. 'The-good sovereign-power [is] to-be-chosen, [that is to say, it is 'choice', the one most desirable thing], most-bearing [to us] a blest lot; (b, c) [through deeds which are] thoroughly-wise¹ [he]-with-asha, and [he]-with-every-sacred-act-of-zeal-whatsoever enters [it];-[it is] the-best, [perhaps meaning 'that of Heaven']. This will I-effect for-us at-every-now'. The word 'best' became later definitively a name for 'Heaven'.

There are especially strongly marked alternative possibilities here, and they will afford me an excellent opportunity to illustrate once again what I have so constantly asserted which is that whatever difference in the texts may be before us, or whatever differing translations we may think possible in treating one acknowledged text, it is impossible for the Gâthas to express any ideas at all which are not striking and valuable to us in the sense of comparative theology and comparative morals. By one of the texts which have come down to us we might read line *b* 'the man endowed with legal-holiness and with any kind of zeal opposes the hurtful actions' a most gâthic idea, if not here expressed then elsewhere included, while another text gives the less differing; 'he enters the kingdom through actions which tend thoroughly to establish and sustain the kingdom'. No change in the translation can effect the one point which interests comparative religion. Both translations are kindred in tone; in fact we might omit line *b* altogether as being too uncertain to be reproduced, and yet we should have an excellent bit; — perhaps the most striking parts of the whole are 'the good kingdom bears most our good fortune on — the best of every rule, then let me serve, or 'help effect it' every now'. What could be more expressive than his gâthic 'every now'; see also y. 31. 49?; it is almost modern.

2. 'These-two [blessings] of Yours may'st-Thou-grant [me] first, O-Mazda, and-what-two-things [are] (b, c) to-Thee also, [i. e. Thine], O-one-endowed-with-alert-and-ready-mind, [O Âramaiti, as]

¹ Another and a different *text* of course gives us different resulting ideas; we have either 'the-[man], with-asha opposes evil** actions', or 'enters the Kingdom with wise ones'; a difference after all not so very important; and this is again a good specimen of gâthic difficulties; see my Gâthas 391, 594.

Your rule over-the-desired-possession; yea, grant [these] benefits [to me] with-a-good mind for-praise'. For alternatives see my Gâthas, texts and Comm.; what we most value in the sense is not affected.

3. 'For your hearing [possibly meaning 'that you may hear'; otherwise 'to hear the Avesta chanted']. they come-together who by your mighty-deeds¹ are-protected-and-ruled, (b) O-Ahura, O-Asha² with-tongue, [or 'with asha²-tongue'] with-the-words of-the-good mind [in the throngs of the faithful], (c) of-whom Thou, O-Mazda [art] the-first enlightener, [or possibly 'of which (chants, or words) Thou art the first inspirer']'.

4. 'Where [is] the Chief-of-cattle [culture] by-the-side of-the zealous, or thrifty, [or again 'in the interests of, i. e. (for) zeal']?; where shall-he-stand for-mercy?; (b) where may Asha [and the others] be coming?; where the-bounteous (with some 'the holy') Âramaiti?, [alertness-of-the-ready-mind]? (c) Where [from what quarter is] the-Best Mind [approaching?], where, O-Mazda, Thy sovereign-powers, [or 'where (he, the-one-endowed) with-Thy-sovereign-power (the fully prospered King in his sacred office)]?'.

5. '(a, b) The-agricultural [saint is] asking all these [questions] in-order-that [or 'how'] he-may-acquire the-[sacred]-Cow, [meaning 'how he may further the sacred cattle-interest'] in-accordance-with-asha, [as the regulation of 'Thy holy law], being just in-[his]-energetic-actions' and beneficently-wise with-self-humbling-worship, (c) who [as] a-holy ruler has-appointed aright a-spiritual-chief for-the-created-[beings (meaning 'for the people'; or possibly 'for the laws³ to carry them out)']'.

6. '[He] who gives better than-the-good, and who bestows upon him, [that is to say 'upon the agricultural saint'] for-his religious-choice ['on account of his general adherence to the chosen faith' (b) is] Ahura Mazda in-accordance-with-[His]-sovereign-power; but [He-gives] worse than-the-evil to-him (c) who does not distribute [of his means to Him], in-the-last-turning, [or 'end'] of-life [or 'of the world']'.

¹ This is the shade of meaning in the Veda.

² The voc. and instrumental cases have here the same termination.

³ The laws were for the people, and the 'holy people' did not exist as such without the laws; the difference does not concern the moral tone.

7. 'Give me [Thou] who hast-fashioned the-Cow, and-the waters, and-the-plants (b) the-two the-deathless-life and healthful-weal, O-most bountiful (others 'most holy') spirit Mazda, (c) the-two-continuous, [or 'eternal'] powers with-[Thy]-good mind in-the-doctrine'¹.

8. 'So then for-Thee will-I-speak O-Mazda, for to-the-one-having-known, [to-the-wise] let a-man tell (b) that ill² [are] for-the-faithless, [but the blessing] 'in-the-wished-for-[ideal-gratification-be-he', that is to say, 'hossanna to him'] who has-maintained-for-himself asha [as the holy constitution of the law]; (c) for he-himself [or simply 'he'] is-rejoiced by-the-manthra who speaks to*, [or 'for'] the-wise'.

9. 'What acumen-of-mind [leading to decision] Thou-hast-given to-the-two-contending [parties] by-'Thy-red fire, O-Mazda; (b) with-the-melted [or 'forged'] brass to-give [so, meaning 'give-Thou'] a-sign among-the people(?), [or 'for the lives**', that here, and that beyond and the intermediate (hence(?) the pl. and not dual as elsewhere)]; (c) for-the-wounding the-faithless may'st-Thou-prosper-[with-blessings] the-saint'.

A difference in opinion as to one word here induces greatly different ideas in the rendering of line *b*; 'may-we-two-take-pains to-make a-weapon, with-cast [or 'forged'] iron'; so some(!). My own literal rendering here is a concession to a critical demand for a more realistic rendering. I now put in the alternative my former rendering, in which I could not bear to recognise the apparently insane practice (if it ever existed) of pouring melted ore on the human bosom as a test of innocence (death not ensuing). I rendered: 'for both lives (or 'amidst the people', so better) to grant skill with the welded brass [blade]'. We must also say distinctly, that the question here is not at all so indifferent as elsewhere, for whether this 'test of poured melted metal' existed at the gâthic period is a very serious question. Line *b* is inscrutable.

10. 'Thus, [or 'yea' (a mere particle)] he-who desires-to-slay me otherwise from, [i. e. 'than'] this, [that is to say without the

¹ possibly this word may be in the verbal rather than in the nominal form: 'I pray for', or 'I hope for this'.

² possibly 'that with-evil' in other words 'it will be ill' 'for the faithless'. Some prefer the verbal rather than the nom. adj. form: 'that I-will-do-evil (to the faithless)'.

test of melted metal (?), (or 'without justice') O-Mazda, (b) he is a-son of-the-creation of-the-Druj [the-lie-demon (inspiring our foe), and] therefore [of the number of those] who are malevolent-malefactors, (c) [but] to-me I-invoke Asha [as the Archangel of the Law] may-he-come as-Thine with-a-good *ashi*; [that is to say, 'with the holy reward']'. Roth used to render line *b* 'he is a son of the creation, [that is to say, 'of the creatures'] of-the-druj who are therefore malificent', and *c* 'to-me I-call asha [as the Archangel of the Law] to-come (so, reading with another text) with-a-good *ashi*'.

11. 'Who [is] the-true-godly-friend to-Spitama Zarathushtra, an-[heroic]-man¹, O-Mazda?; (b) or who has-questioned-conferring with-asha [as representing the functionaries of the Law]?; with-whom [is] the-bounteous, [or with some, more boldly, 'holy'] Âramaiti [angel of the alert and ready-mind, (or 'the one endowed with this')]?; (c) or who [as] nobly-fitted has-cared² for-the-Maga [the great Cause] of-the-good mind [in the tribes, (i. e. for the Cause of-the holy tribes')]?'.³

12. (a, b) 'For no paederâst ingratiated-himself-with (made content) him [i. e. 'with] Spitama Zarathushtra, nor [did] the Kavi on the-temptation]-bridge, [the bridge-like crisis] of-earth when he-had-grown in-this house, [or 'when his body* was grown'], (c) when they-two-approached-toward him with-regard-to-this with-the-filthy power of-the-abdominal-part'.

13. 'These [devices, or 'therefore'], of-the-faithless-sinner, does the-religion of-the-faithful-saint crush verily (b) whose soul rages on-the-Bridge of-the-sifting [Judge] which-gives-open-access [to the other world?, or 'the soul manifest on the open-' (so however with a different text)], (c) by his-own deeds and [with the shrieks] of-[his]-tongue reaching [or 'striving-to-reach' (e'er he falls)] the-paths of-asha, [as representing the adherents of the Holy Law (where those saints pass safely on)]'. The alternatives here (see Comm. of Gâthas p. 601) do not affect those main religious elements which alone interest us in the present work.

¹ a most interesting peculiarity may be present here; this word may represent a *nam*-of '*quisnam*' widely separated from its '*quis*'.

² Or 'who is designated as fit for the Maga'.

³ Here the objector has it all his own way. This verse is considered so uncertain that totally differing ideas have been found in it; see my Gâthas, p. 600, 601.

14. (a, b) 'No faithful-godly-friends to-the-creatures, [that is to say, 'to the people', or possibly, 'to our laws', 'not faithful to the laws'] Karpans; from-the-field cutting-off [or 'not-giving (from the field)'] energetic-tillage (*arem*)* in-the-matter-of-energetic-duty** toward-the herd by-their-own-deeds and by-[their]-chanted-doctrines, (c) [he] who [is ever one of these] will-deliver these-[chanted-praises'] in-his-doctrine at-last in-the-abode of-the-lie-demon [of our foe]'. For differing shades of opinion see page 602 of my Gâthas. None of them however alter the general sense; 'The enemy are hostile to field labour, depending upon 'misdirected actions which will bring them at last to Hell'; the eschatology is unmistakable. On the radical meanings there is little difference in opinion possible. ** 'ploughing work'.

15. 'Since Zarathushtra designated a-reward to-the-magavan, [i. e. 'to the adherents to the maga' the great Cause (possibly the Magianship)] beforehand, (b) Ahura Mazda will-go first² into the-Abode of-Song, [or of 'Sublimity', i. e. 'Heaven' to bestow them]. (c) They [the promised advantages] are-designated-as-bestowed upon-you by-the-Good Mind [as the Archangel of benevolence in Heaven] and by-Asha [as the Archangel of justice] with-beneficial-results'. The differences in opinion here (see Comm. page 603) do not affect the main ideas.

16. 'Kavan Vishtâspa had-attained through-[his]-sovereignty, [meaning 'on account of his kingly rank'] that [chisti (see below) or 'wisdom', i. e. Sophia (a play (or nickname) upon the name of Pouruchista, the bride; see the next strophes)], (b, c) in-accordance-with-the-[metric]-feet of-the-good mind [inspired by this attribute of Ahura in the minds of the rhythmic and metrical writers], the chisti [or 'inspired-insight', 'sophia'] which the-bounteous [according to others the 'holy'] Ahura Mazda conceived in-accordance-with-asha [the Sanctity of His nature and His law: thus is *ushtâ* [the 'hosanna' hail of salvation] to be prepared for us, [or 'to be announced to us']'. History repeats itself in a curiously interesting manner. The puritanical spirit was alive to such a degree that there was a passion for 'scripture' (sic) names, whose meaning was not yet lost. Recall the Greek names to the like effect, also the

¹ or 'will deliver the Karpans' judgment'.

² with Roth 'Ahura will meet these promises (to fulfil them)'.

later English names of the time of the Commonwealth and of the Puritans of New England.

17. 'A blest form [that is to say, an endeared and distinguished person] Frashaoshtra has-with-feeling-(see the intensive)-presented [as a relative presents a bride]. (b, c) May Mazda Ahura the-sovereign-ruling-one bestow her who is to be-wished-for (a choice spirit endeared) to-him for-the-good faith, to-attain to-the-desired-acquisition of asha [as holy and steadfast piety in the family and community]', the differences in opinion (see page 604 Gâthas) do not affect the main ideas on the literal wording.

18. 'That Chisti [Sophia (see above)] Jâmâspa Hvôgva, the-splendid* of-wealth, (b) chooses with-asha, [i. e. 'with holy impulse and in pursuance of the religious political interests] obtaining thereby this Khshathra [the royal-influence (possibly 'royal succession') of-the-Good mind, [i. e. over-the-orthodox population], (c) and-do-thou-grant me O-Ahura, what, O-Mazda, they, [i. e. such correct parties], shall-receive of-Thee' Jâmâspa Hvogva was the Bridegroom who chooses Chisti, [the Sophia; but it is quite impossible to mistake the genuine 'double sense' in these strophes. The marriage was received with religious-patriotic enthusiasm; and the name Chisti, so different from the 'horse'-name Jâmâspa and the 'camel-names' Frashaoshtra and Zarathushtra, is used in its utmost significance, precisely as similar expressions might be used in a catholic crisis, or even in a puritan one.

19. 'This man, O-Maidyoi-mâoiha Spitama, gains* this [prize, see strophe 15] for-us, [or 'gives for this[-one]]' (b) [he] knowing-for-himself, [i. e. 'learned' possibly 'being (?) known'] through-the-Insight, [that is to say 'through the Faith] who [is] desiring-after (so) the-people' [or 'desiring after life' prospered with religious-political advantages], (c) may Mazda tell through-the-laws, [or simply 'the laws'] to-us the-better-thing through-the deeds of-life, [that is to say, 'the better reward with reference-to, and gained-by, the actions of personal life']'.

20. 'This [prize, or 'reward' (see strophe 15) of-Yours [be-ye] all with-one-desire-willing to-give to us [as] a-blessing; (b) [be] Asha [ready-to-give it] with-a-hymn¹ together-with-whom [let]

¹ I formerly preferred: 'be they of one mind to give us hymns by which Aramaiti (Devoted Obedience) [is produced]: Also in (c) read as alternative: 'they two seek to obtain for us Mazda's help'. With

Aramaiti [the Devotion of the Seven) also be ready to give it]; (e) [they] all (see above)] being-sacrificed-to [and] seeking, [or 'they-two-seek']-for-us Mazda's gracious-help'.

21. 'The man of Aramaiti [a devoted mind 'of the alert and ready attention'] he [is] bounteous both in [his] chisti-understanding (recall the undoubted play upon words mentioned above), [i. e. both in-his-hallowed-wisdom, his] sacred hymns, and through-[his]-action; (b) through-the-Insight [of the Holy Faith] Asha [as the Archangel representing the congregation is] bounteous¹, and the-Sovereign-Power [also] together-with-the-Good Mind; (c) may Mazda grant [it] Ahura; this holy-blessing I-am-imploing'.

22. '[Him] whose best [-gift] in-accordance-with-Asha [is] for-me in-the-Yasna, [the liturgical service with offering] (b) Mazda Ahura hath-known, [that is to say, 'this is the final word of all my exhortation: 'God hath seen the best gift'; and 'God Knows the best giver']. [Them] who have-been, and [who now] exist, (c) these let-me-worship-with-sacrifice by-their-own names, and around[-their altar] I-will-go a-supplicator, [or 'praiser']'.

one exception the words are of the simplest, the uncertainties arising from the seemingly colourless meanings; our first impression is that 'the hymns' are the reward; this of course looks suspiciously 'fine', and suspiciously colourless.

¹ or 'let Asha bountifully-bestow the Sovereign-Power [upon us] together with-the-Good Mind etc.; may Mazda grant [this] Ahura...'. The words are all absolutely simple, while it is hard to credit the fine but colourless meaning. It seems however to be inevitable. Was the 'reward' spoken of all along actually to be the chisti? the 'holy wisdom'. (Could we even call it 'gnosis'?) This seems to me to be too refined to be credible; it was rather the *consequences* of the chisti than the chisti itself: it was 'prosperity in office', 'the Authority', etc.'.



YASNA LIII.

The marriage song

The metre here is very irregular. I endeavour merely to imitate the rhythm. Some have supposed that the piece was written after the death of Zarathushtra because of the past form of the word which I render 'was heard'. The 'Zarathushtrian' Spitâna might also seem an allusion to a past influence. But the bride names her father, and she is Zarathushtra's daughter. Younger Spitâmas might have been called 'Zarathushtrian' while the great person was still in his prime. That his 'prayer was heard' at some past crisis does not necessarily imply that he had left that state of existence in which supplications were still possible; and daughters were married at fifteen years of age. Nothing therefore tends to show that Zarathushtra was not both alive and present. And nothing could be fresher than the verve of the style of these precious fragments where the words are clear; and even sometimes where some of them are obscure. That Zarathushtra does not speak in the first person hardly militates against his authorship, for much here recalls undoubted Zarathushtrian pieces. The marriage of his child as that of the leading princely priest could not have failed to be an important religious-political occasion; and the bard would strike in with allusions to the military struggle which was by no means entirely over; and this shows an earlier date. Strophes 1 and 2 form an admirable introduction. The transition to the marriage occasion was contained in lost verses. 3, 4 and 5 hang well together; and 6 and 7 are not at all remote; the warlike close was doubtless originally preceded by some stanzas which had disappeared even before parts of the later Avesta were written.

1. We are indeed tempted to reject the word which gives us the meaning 'they who deceived Him' in 1, as persons 'given back', or 'converted' to Him; for this seems to convey a suspiciously virile idea. It is however quite imperative that it should be

used at least in an alternative rendering, for we have distinct signs of the 'converting' process elsewhere; cp. Y. 31, 3; recall also the 'Turanian Friendlies' (cp. Y. 46, 14) who look very much like an acquisition from without. 2. Having the fidelity of converts or original disciples, the King and his chief nobles would celebrate their devotion. The young bride is called 'full-of-knowledge' like the 'Sophias' of other times. Her husband is to be her support in holiness; and she is to 'take counsel' with Devotion. 4. She will vie with her spouse in every domestic virtue and in every honourable sentiment. 5. The priestly Thaliarch then intervenes with an address to the bridesmaids making use of suitable admonitions. 6. He turns now to the assembly with warnings and encouragements. He will exorcise the Demon who was especially the slave of the Daêvas; and he warns all men and women against the evil Vayu, 'the spirit of the air'. 7. Hoping that they will come forth as conquerors from temptation, he warns them against vice. Having named the deadly spiritual enemies, his polemics become inflamed; 9 and to arouse the chiefs to their duty he recalls the successes of the foe.



YASNA LIII.

the best prayer

His best prayer has been heard, the prayer of Zartushtar¹
That Ahura may grant him from Righteousness moved
The prizes of effort and the joy of a blest life
Forever and ever,
Giving those once deceivers² as the Good Faith's true learners
In word and in deed!

the offerers

Unto him may they render with mind, words, and actions
Contentmen to Mazda, pure rites to adore Him
Kavi Vishthâspa with Frashaoshtra the Spitâma
Zartushtar's* true princes,
Straight paths they bestowing, and the Faith of the Prophet
Which Ahura will found.

the bride

Him to thee Pouruchista, Haêchat-as pian maiden,
Zartushtar's*¹ young* daughter a Spitâmi honoured,
Him the friend of the Good Mind*, of Asha and Mazda,
May He* as help give thee;
Counsel well with thy wisdom and saintly devotion;
Wisest deeds ever do!

she answers

I will love and vie with him when from father he takes me,
For the master and peasants and for the blood-kinsman,
For the pure and the pure ones be the Good Mind's bright
And mine be the Insight; [blessing;
May Ahura bestow it for the Good Faith's advancing
For time without end!

¹ a Parsi form adopted here merely to fit the rhythm.

² or with conjectural change of text; 'Giving those who may help him'.

the end

With unbelievers the foe
Thine upholders would banish
Through the truth-slaying prayer
of the body estrangèd.
Where's then the Lord righteous
smiting these out of life,
And from license would hurl them?
Mazda, Thine is that Kingdom
where to poor and right-living
Thou dost give, Lord, the best!



Y. 53. Word-for-word, etc.

1. 'The best wish [of prayer] was-heard [the wish] of-Zarathushtra (b) of-Spitâma*, if to-him [Ahura] shall-give the-attained [objects-of-effort] (c) from-asha [as representing the honour and sanctity of individual character, [if] Ahura Mazda [shall give them the attained prize] for-duration for-all, a-good-life, [i. e. a beatified existence, prosperity], (d) and [if Ahura will give him those] who deceived¹ him: and-may-they-learn* the-words and-deeds of-the-good Religion'¹.

2. 'So-also to-Him may-they-complete with-[full intention of]-mind, with-words, and-with-deeds (b) contenting-propitiation to-Mazda for-adoration, piously [may-they-complete it], and-Yasna-offerings-with-sacrifice, (c) [may] Kavan-also Vishtâspa, the-Zarathushtrian Spitâma and-Frashaoshtra [complete such worship], (d) establishing straight paths [and] what Religion Ahura will establish [as that] of¹-the-Saoshyait, [of the one-about-to-bless-us, i. e. 'of the princely-prophet'¹].

3. 'And-him, O-thou Pouru-cista, (the-much-instructed-one [well brought up]), the-Haschat-aspiian, (b) the-Spitâma-woman, young* of-the-daughters of-Zarathushtra, (c) [him] the-strenuous-supporter of-the-good mind [as embodied in God's people, i. e. 'of the good Zoroastrian'], of-asha [as the law and constitution], and of-Mazda [as supreme over all], (d) to-thee may-[Mazda]-give [him] as-a-sheltering-head! (d) So take-counsel-with thine understanding the-most-bounteous [or 'holy'] of-Âramaiti-, [i. e. 'of Devotion']; accomplish the-beneficent [deeds]'.
 4. 'Him then will-I-emulate, will-I-choose [lovingly] by-what [reason, i. e. since, or 'when'?] of-father he-will-gain [me]. (b)

¹ Here we naturally hesitate to accept so advanced an idea as that of the 'conversion of former deceivers', plain though the words stand in the Zend and also in the Pahlavi. We feel tempted to emend the word and to read (d): 'And may Ahura bestow upon-him even disciples*** who may-give*** [contributions to the Cause, and who] will-desire-to-perform, [or, 'and who will learn'] the-words and deeds of-the-good Religion'. An older rendering was (d): 'And may Ahura grant him those who deceived him, and as the learners of the good Religion in word and in deed' None of the differing views really touch the main ideas at all. Z.'s noble prayer is to be nobly answered; the conversion of former gulfeful foes, if present is merely an added idea.

² possibly, 'O ye Saoshyaites!' (?).

And-to-the-master, to-the-pasture-tillers, and-so to-the-kinsman [prince of the blood], (c) to-the-holy-one [that master], to-the-holy-ones [these saintly toilers] [be] the-shining [blessing] of-the Good Mind [in the good man i. e., such as is fitting for him'] (d) the blessing; mine verily [be(?)] the-light(?) [of the mind]; (e) [may Mazda grant [it], Ahura for-the-good Faith [possibly 'to the good soul'] for-continuance for-all for'. The only obscure word is evidently a mere dependant. But one of the clear ones may be an interpolated gloss. The whole meaning is plainly obvious.

5. 'Monitions to-the-ones-being-conducted, [i. e. 'to be married'] to-the-maidens I-speak, (b) to-you, [I]-knowing [you] and-attention do-ye-give. (c) Do-ye-find-out-for-yourselves through-the-conscientious-precepts, do-ye-strive-after¹ the-life which [is that] of-the-good mind. (d) With the-asha [as the uprightness of individual character] of-you ['with your honourable fidelity'] let-one the-other cherish; for this to-him [or 'to-her'] good-home-life shall-be'.

6. While we have three or four words here which are doubtful, and while one line may be detached as a somewhat later, though very ancient, interpollation, the strong ideas are all fully obvious: 'So those [things] are really-existing, O-men; so, O-women! (b) from the-Druj [demon of the foe as] a-guiding-driver-charioteer, ye-twain² [ye two groups of men and women] do-ye-see³ promotion? (c) The-hateful-dispositions of-the-Druj-(demon) I-pray of the-bond⁴ from-the-body off; [i. e. I-exorcise them]. (d) To-those borne-of-Vayu, let poison⁵ reaching-harm [their] happiness; (d) to-the-evil-faithless virtue-conquerors; with-those the-mental⁶ life ye-slay'.

¹ This wholly dependent word might be replaced by a different one meaning 'by-these', also wholly dependent; both might be left blank and little would be lost.

Difficulties: ² The words 'O-ye-twain' may be replaced by two wholly different words (NB) giving of course a totally different cast to this dependent line. Instead of line *b* as above; we may change our text to: 'as-regards the Druj-demon, [I] who [am] a-guiding-charioteer (so figuratively) a-watching-guard'.

³ (so with another *Zend-text*, be it noted) 'as-to] progress (a frequent gâthic idea) (c) I exorcise . . ' etc.

⁴ the word rendered 'bond' is very awkward, while some other kindred idea might replace 'hate'.

⁵ Then for 'poisoned food' we may have 'dishonour', or 'poisoned honour' (sic); and for 'happiness' 'glory', hardly 'good food'.

⁶ Roth preferred 'human' to 'mental' life. But the main ideas seem little affected.

7. Here we have a great difficulty (as so often) with very simple words; but it is a choice between two very plain 'though totally differing renderings; I give first: 'So-and yours the-reward may-be of-this Maga [the Holy Cause], (b) while-yet [lit 'so-long-as'] the azhu ['the distorting (or 'convulsing') venereal passion'] standing-in-the-heart in-the-root of-the-two-thighs (c) before-and going-down and-down where the-spirit of-the-evil (d) may-reach before; (e) [on the contrary] ye-bring-forth the maga-[child, i. e. a-legitimate-offspring-and-princely-child-of-the-Faith, the Holy Cause]; So yours: 'O-Vayu'¹ shall-be the-last [or 'at-last'] the-word'.

8. Once more, with a few subordinate obscurities, the main ideas are clear; and as strong as they are lucid: 'In-view-of-those [things let] the malefactors be to-be-foiled, [i. e. 'given-up-to-stratagem'], (b) and-to-be-extinguished (so, figuratively) all: let-them-shriek up [or 'on']. (c) Through good-kings let-[our champion] give up even the-bloody smiter, and-peace-with-these [things] to-the-houses, [and] to-the-villages (d) let-him-attack those deceivers [or 'traitors'], he on-account-of-the-chain of-death, [i. e. 'because he binds with a deadly chain'] the-greatest [the conqueror]; (e) and-quick let-it-be!'

9. Once again the uncertainties fall in the subordinate parts, and scarcely touch the fine denunciation: 'Through-evil-believers the-tormentor renders Thy hero-nourishers**', [i. e. patrons] banished [or 'isolated'] (b) through-the duty-conquering prayer of-the-reprobate: (c) Where [is] the-holy lord who would-smite these from-life and from-going-at-will? (d) But, O-Mazda, Thine [is] the-Kingly-Power by-which Thou-givest to-the-right-living poor the-better-[thing]!'

¹ Vayu may be taken in an evil sense, as he was the God of the wind and sometimes, 'evil', while again sometimes 'good'. The word may have been uttered in triumph; and really seems to be a proper name. The other translation would simply take 'reward' in the sense of 'reward for the evil (rather difficult!)', and makes the whole strophe a rebuke to the evil element among those who were addressed. In this case the last 'maga' must also be taken in an evil (?) sense which would be very difficult indeed, as 'Maga' was a most sacred idea. I should say that Roth before he had heard of the translation for 'b' used to render 'seated in the fundamental character of the two companions'; but no one would hold to such a view at present.



A study of the
Five Zarathushtrian (Zoroastrian)
Gâthâs,

with
text, translations, etc.

(being the first attempt as yet ever made to treat the subject with full
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Professor of Zend Philology in the University of Oxford.

PART V, DICTIONARY

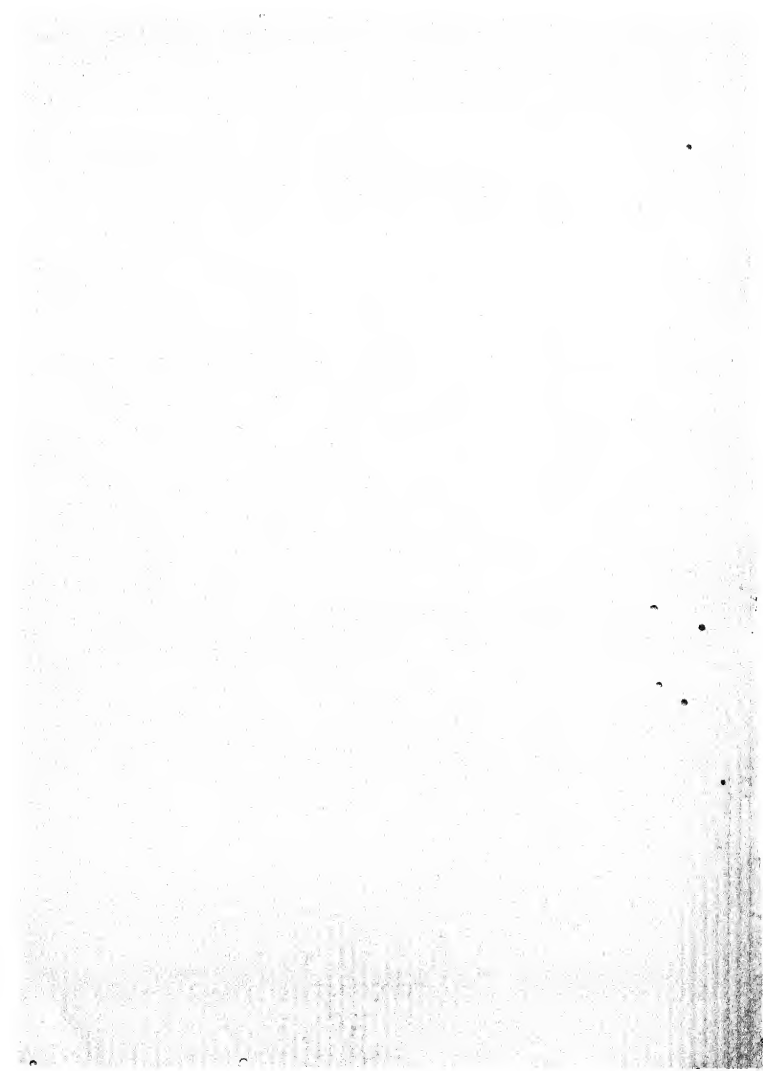
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yishn ân kih êdûn niyâyishn i Rakûm* (sic) [Dîn], (c) Hôrmuzd*, dôstam* dehad[], [avâ Ardibahisht = *rôdman* Ardibahisht**], Shumâ barâbar razâmandi; hast pah himmat, [kûm razâmandi [] ân zamân kih pah kardâri + kardan chand tuvân barâbar Tâ bûd (so) istam (so)] * (d) Êdûn mâ pah Şawâb (ân*? sic = at (?) dôst* deham (?) []; [kât pah nekî shâgird [] [deh = *dâbân*]] * (e) Êdûn ân [] [= *Rak*] mâ pah Bahman rasid (?) *
 *¹ Sometimes plainly written Hôr°, sometimes Ôr°. (NB. *v* is used for *w* = English *v* here.)

Free tr. Thus ask I Thee, aright, Ahura, tell me,
 How that best world's chief Lord serving to honour,
 Pleasing to serve Him who this* requireth
 For through the Right he holds ruin from all men,
 Guardian in Spirit, for both worlds, friend!

Pahl. transl. etc. That which I ask of Thee, tell me aright, O Aûhar-mazd, (b) which is the first and best thing in the worlds, [that is, first they desire this thing for *it is also* the best]? (c) By* what means ([mûn, oblique by position and = *kathê* as for *kathâ*, pavan khvâhishn being treated as gloss or altern. trl.) *is* the giving of the advantage *realized* (according to *their* desire), ([for altern. trl. of *kâthê* = [mûn] pavan khvâhishn, mûn being treated as if gloss: (b) *that is, which in the best one . . .* etc. (c) [which] according to *their** desiring *is* the giving of the benefit, [i. e. when they desire (or 'pray for it') he gives *the benefit*]) to him who is seeking it [again and again] through that which is both the two [through the Avesta and Zand?]; * (d) for that *one* is thus, viz, when [they possess] a thing through (or 'in') Sanctity he will (or 'let him') bless (by conversion, lit. 'let him increase') even the destructive* [sinner], in (or 'through'), piety for all [time], (e) a chieftain*¹ *as he is* through the spiritual-doctrine for both the worlds [through the Religion (or '*he*(?) is** the Religion'), through the friendship of Aûharmazd (or 'the friendship', nom., *will do this*), [that is, which is the (or '*it is* the')² celebration of the Service]. *¹ It is of course absolutely necessary either to omit the syntactical translation altogether (which however none will do), or to handle it in such a way as to show that *kathê* is twice translated by mûn as = *kâthâ* (so) and by pavan khvâhishn = *kathê*. A contrary procedure would be mere imposture. *² possibly, the literal (?) meaning was meant. 'A chieftain (?) in spirituality for both worlds [*is* (?) the Dîn] the friendship of Aûharmazd'.

Ner.'s sansk. text. Tat Tvattah prichchhâmi¹ satyain, me brûhi, Svâmin, [kilâ'ham satyain prichchhâmi]; (b) kim antar bhuvane utkrishâtaram prathamam, [kila, prathamam kinchit* yat vâñchhati; kim utkrishâtaram]? (c) Ko lābhasya dātā, [kāmukebbyah lābham ko dadāti?], yah tasmin dvitaye [navam navam] samīhate [Avistāvāchi Avistāarthē cha]? (d) Sa yatah puṇyena pravardhayati nṛīṇamsāt (?) -sān*², [kila, sadvyāpāratayā dadhāti pāpakāritarān*] sarvadaiva, (e) svāmi paraloke bhuvanadvaye 'pi mitro Mahājñāninaḥ [Dīnimitrah]. ¹ J.* āye. ² z, as often, carelessly written for the closely resembling n.

beyond *and* a friend also of the Great Wise *One* in the two worlds, [*that is*, a friend through* the Dīn]. *¹ Or reading 'āt 'from sin' (?).

Parsi-persian Ms. trit. An i az Tū pursam, rāst ān man gō* (so), Hōrmuzd (or 'Or*'); (b) kudām andar jīhān bulandī avval, [kū, avval chīz [] ó (?) khvāhād chih, [chīz = *mandām*] buland]? * (c) kih pah khvāhishn sūd dahishn, [kih ó (?) khvāhād sūd, dehad] kih pah ān i har dū [[] (nuh (sic lege no) nuh (sic) = *nuh*(?) *nuh*(?)) khvāhād [[az = *min*] [] Avestā u Zand]?; (d) chih ān hast kū kih pah Šavāb [dārad*, pah nekī] afzāyād, ū ham i bad [= *raspatah*] [gunāh-kārtar* (sic) [būd = *jānānd*]], pah tamām [pēdāish*] (e) sardār pah mīnūtī pah har dū jīhān [Dīn], dōst* i Hōrmuzd, [[] [Yazdān i veh = *Yahān** *shapīr*]] *

Free tr. Thus ask I Thee, aright, Ahura, tell me,
Who in production first was Asha's father?
Who suns and stars save Thee their path hath given?
Who thins the waning moon, or waxing filleth;
This and still other works Lord would I know.

and wanes?; *dost* Thou*¹ *cause this* (or: '*is it*-from* Thee*¹?'); [from whom *are* its increase and diminishing?]; (e) this is also my desire, O Atharmazd, and that also which *is* information as to other things, [*that is*, I will (would) know *still** *more**].

*¹ Perhaps Lak belongs with line c: 'This is also my wish from** Thee, etc.'

Ner's sansk. text. Tat Tvattah¹ prichchāmi satyam, me brūhi, Svāmin, [kilā'ham satyam prichchāmi]; (b) ko jananeḥ* pitā puṇyasya prathamā, [kila, prathamam sadvyāpāratvaṁ* kaçchakre]? (c) Kaḥ² sūryasya tāarakāpāncha dadau padavīm, [kila, mārgam teshān ko³ dadau]? (d) Kasmāt, yat chandraḥ unmlati nimilaticha⁴; Te, [kilā'sya vṛiddhiḥ⁴ kshayaçcha⁵ kasmāt]? (e) Tach cha, Mahājñānin, vāñchhaye; anyasya cha⁴ vettā'smi, [kila jānāmi]? *

¹P. ²J.* ins. first hand on marg. ³J.* ins. ⁴J.* 'qcha. ⁵J.* 'asya.

Ner. transl. This I ask thee aright (see gloss), tell me, O Lord, [i. e. I ask (?) aright]; (b) who was at first the father of*¹ the creation of Sanctity, [*that is*, who first produced good* conduct*]?; (c) who gave their path to* the sun and the stars, [*that is*, who gave them their way]?; (d) from whom is it when the moon waxes and wanes? *Is** *it** Thy work? [*That is*, from whom are her increase and diminution]?; (e) this, O Great Wise *One*, I desire to *understand*, and of another thing I am (sic) *already* cognizant (through* Thine* instruction*), [*that is*, I understand it]. *¹ or 'from*(?) creation'.

Parsi-persian Ms. trit. Ān i az Tū pursam rāst ān man gō* Hōrmuzd; (b) [az = *min*] kih pēdā*-kunandah? [[] kih azash kih] pidār i Šavāb avval, [kūsh avval parvartārī*(?) mūn (sic) kard]?; * (c) kih khūshshēd u sitārāh dād [[] rāh i ōshan kih dād]?; * (d) az kih, kih māh afzāyād + afzū** (sic) [[] kāhād; Tū? *], [kūsh afzāyishn + afzūdan, u kāhishn + u + kāstan az kih]? * (e) Ān ham am, Hōrmuzd kāmāh, ān ham i digar āgāh-dahishn[- i = i-], [kū bih dānam] * *¹ Or 'paidā', so also in v. 3 (d).

Free tr. This ask I Thee, aright, Ahura, tell me,
 Who ever* earth and sky from falling guardeth?
 Who hath save* Thee* brought forth rivers and forests
 Who with the winds hath yoked storm-clouds spanned* racers*
 Who of the Good Mind's grace ever was source?

the creation(?) of Vohūman, [that is, of*⁴ Vohūman whose* is the creation]?
^{*1} Or 'they move on quickly' (āyūzēnd). ^{**} reading Pers. lak for avō: 'is it Thine efficiency which produces this', see v. 8, d. ^{***} or poss. 'who (?) is the creation of Vohūman'? ^{***} this gloss is to emphasize the gen.

Ner.'s sansk. text. pūrvoktavat jñeyam. (b) Ko dhatte jagatīn cha an-ādhāratve¹ pi, [kila, ādhāro jagatyā² nā'sti] (c) anipātīnīn? [Idamcha vedmi yat na nipatati]; kaḥ* āpo vanaspatīn cha [dadau]?; (d) kasmāt vātā* ambu-dāccha upakramanti āṇu, [satkāryāya*]?; (e) kā Uttamasya, Mahājñānin, sṛiṣṭīr Manasaḥ? [Gvahanasya sṛiṣṭīh kā]?
¹ P.; J.⁴ amādhyāratve. ² so J.³, J.*⁴, P., C. ³ so J.⁴. ⁴ J.* satyak-, J.³ satk*.

Ner. transl. (a) To be understood as above. (b): Who holds the world in a non-supported state?, [that is, there is no support for the earth; *how is this?*]; (c) *and who secures its non-falling*, [for this I know that it does not fall]?; who [made] the waters, and the tree(s)?; (d) by whom do the winds and the clouds advance rapidly* (reading 'āyūzēnd') [for beneficence]?; (e) what is the creation of the best, (i. e. of the Good) Mind, O Great Wise One?, [that is, what is the creation of Gvahmana?].

Parsi-persian Ms. trit. An i az Tū pūrsam, rāst an man gō (sic) Hōrmuzd; (b) kih dārad zamīn palī nā-dārīshn [kū[-sh = -ash] [] [dāshtan = dāshtan] [] i gēti nīst]? (c) [] [ō (vel 'ū') bih = val** bāna*] uftādan [ē in (?) dānam kū bih nah uftad]; * kih āv u ūrvar [dād]? (d) [] [kih = mām] kih*, kih* bād abr* (sic corr.)* (sic?) bālātar (sic videtur, sed fortasse sit legendum 'bālāntar*') (?) vel melius bālānad = 'facit ut se moveant*') tiz [] [n. tr. pro rak (sic videtur, cf. stropham III, lak = tvaq(t))], khvēsh-kārī?; * (c) [az = min] kih Hōrmuzd, [] Bahman pēdāish*, [kū Bahman pēdāish*¹ kih [dehad = dāhīnēd] *? ^{*1} Vel 'paidāyish'.

Free tr. This ask I Thee, aright, Ahura, tell me,
 Who with skilled* hand* the lights* made?; who the darkness?
 Who, with wise* deed* hath giv'n sleep and our waking*?
 Who hath Auroras spread, noontides, and midnights,
 Warning discerning man, calling to toil?

sed vide stropham III] dedit [et creavit], tenebras-que? (c) Quis, artificiosus, somnum vitamque-sedulam, [i. e. expergefactionem]; (d) quis ea [eas creavit] quae*¹ auroras[-rae sint], meridies, noctesque, (e) quae [ut] monitores [virum] intelligentem [-sanctum] officii [de officio ejus] monent[-neant]? .

¹ Vel 'quis [constituit eam legem] secundum-quam aurorae etc.: [immo secundum] quam [vel 'ut (yā = yēna)'] monitores [moneant . .]'; ve lege 'yāo = quae aur. sint'.

Ner.'s sansk. transl. (a) Pūrvoktavat* jñeyam. (b) Kaḥ sunirikshaṇe ro-chimshi dadau; kaḥ cha tamisraṇ*¹? (c) Kaḥ sunirikshaṇe svapnaṇ² dadau, jāgaranaṇ cha [adhyavasāyaṇ]³?; (d) ko yaḥ huḥainakālāṇ rapithvanakālāṇ cha³ rātreḥ³?; [pūrvārdhakālāṇ (sic) aparārdhakālāṇ cha (sic) rātreḥ³, ko dadau], (e) yaḥ cha pramāṇaṇ saṅkhyāṇ vivektaḥ(r)⁴ nyāyena, [kila, taṇ kālāṇ yatra Ḡoḡosah prāpnoti ko dadau]? ¹J.⁴ tamishtaṇ; J.⁶ 'micraṇ. ²C. ³P. ⁴all 'ktu.

Ner. transl. (a) To be understood as above. (b) Who gave us the lights with his keen discrimination; and who the darkness?; (c) who, in his keen discrimination, gave us our sleep and waking, [that is, diligence (or 'activity')]?; (d) who is He who gave the time of huḥaina, and the time of rapithvana and of the night?, [that is, who made the first half, and the latter half of the night (? sic)?], (e) who also gave us the method and the calculation of him who discerns by means of the rule?, [that is, who has appointed the time when Ḡoḡosah shall come]?

Parsi-persian Ms. trlt. An i az Tū pursam, rāst an man gō* (sic), Hōrmuzd; (b) kih [] nek-yāftan¹ rūshani (vel 'rōsh') dād?; kih tāriki? *; (c) kih [] nek-yāftan khvab (sic) dārad (?), [] tuvāni, [kushishn] (d) [Va = va] kih hūsh u rāpisavīn* (sic loco rapis*) u lēlyā? [Hōshan u rāpisavīn (sic videtur loco rapis*) u zamān i lēlyā kih dād]?; * (e) kih andāzah i ū [rūz = jōm] i shumār vazārdār pah dādīstān?; [kū, ān-zamān kih Sōshyōs rasad kih dād]? ¹* = 'āyāfshni.

Free tr. Thus ask I Thee, aright, Ahura, tell me,

Are these in very deed truths which I utter?

Doth Holiness further Right in our actions?

To Thine, through the Good Mind the Realm did'st Thou offer?

For whom did'st Thou made the Kine mother to glad?

Aūharmazd; (b) ³zakō i kolā II (do)⁴ frāz yemalelūnāi [mindavam i aharūbān⁵, va* darvandān] hat aētūnō zak āshkarak, [⁶rōshanak aigh⁷ tanō* i pasinō⁸ yebevūnēd. Aft mūn: chīgūn rōshanak? yemalelūnēd]. (c) Mūnash Aharāyih pavan kūnishnō, ash zak i⁹ stavar* būndak minishni⁸ [yehevūnēd]; (d) mūn avō Lak khūḡāyih vash¹⁰ Vohūman chāshēd [mozd]. (e) Avō mūn Tōrā i¹¹ Az i¹¹ rāḡih-kardār tāshīd? ¹ See P. throughout. ² D. ins. i. ³ D. ins. pavan. ⁴ see P. ⁵ so DJ. ⁶ DJ. ins. aigh. ⁷ DJ. om. aigh. ⁸ see P. ⁹ DJ. ins. i. ¹⁰ DJ., D., M. om. va; Spiegel has vash. ¹¹ D. ins. i.

Pahl. transl. That which I ask of Thee tell me aright, O Aūharmazd (b) speak forth (see also Ner.) to me concerning both, [that is, concerning the case of the righteous and that of the wicked], if it is thus so manifest, [that is, if it is clear that (or 'where' (?)) the final body exists. Some say that the text should be rendered: 'how is it, or does it become, clear?']. (c) He whose is Sanctity in his actions, his [is] that which is the vigorous perfect mind¹, (d) for Vohūman indicates (or 'gives instruction concerning') [the

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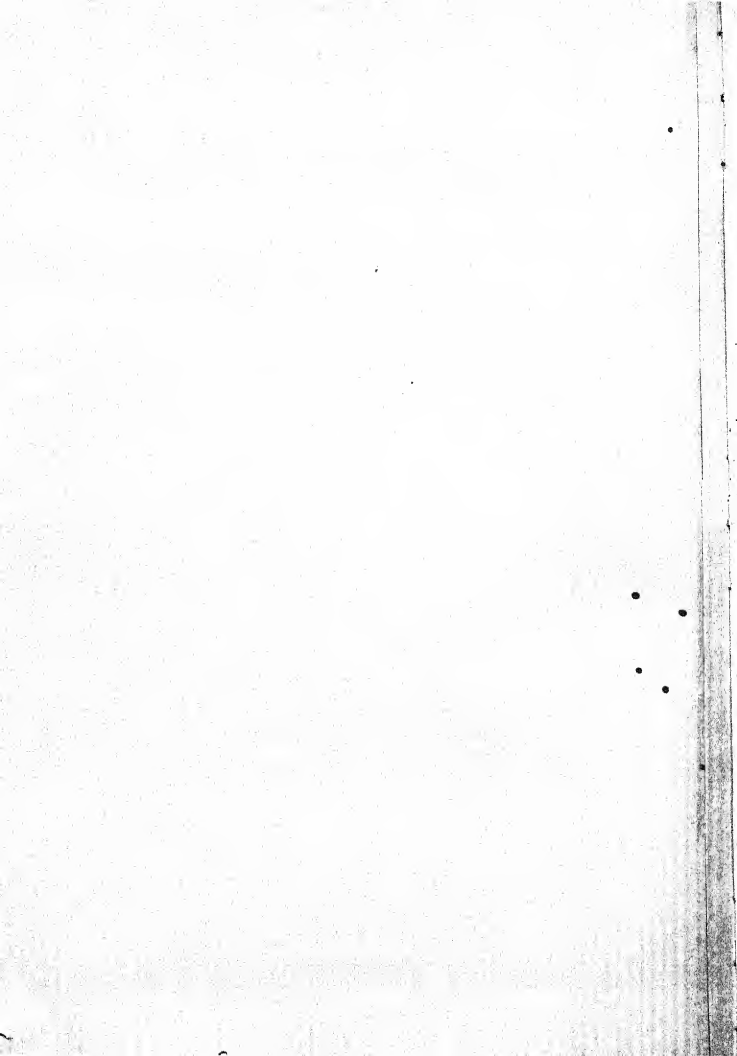
Study of the Five Zarathushtrian Gâthas

by

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point (at least an altern. is absolutely necessary to critical treatment); as to ܡܠܟܐ, y. 50, 7, I think the gl. *min lekūm* is a small fragment of lost matter earlier recognising the 2d pl., the latest pahl. texts only representing débris for ܡܠܟܐ, y. 30, 11 only the root is indicated; at y. 48, 9 ܡܠܟܐ seems distinctly referred to the second pl. by the glossist with *tānō*; so also most emphatically in y. 46, 15 ܡܠܟܐ; but it is also possible that these glosses were supplied from a recognition of the *necessity* (for a 2d pl.) to the syntax, while the term. ܡܠܟܐ

itself was mistaken (?) for a nom. suff. (!), so that we can deny the claims of the pahl. trlr. to a recognition of anything more than the *necessity* for a 2d pl. (or he gives the echo of earlier opinion); so also even if we freely grant this kind of recognition of 2d pls. in y. 48, 7 (*barā yehabūnēd* and *nasīnēd*) we may still be able to deny (?) that the pahl. trlr. saw a 2d pl. med. in

ܡܠܟܐ = ܡܠܟܐ

but he seems seldom, or never, to fail to report is a gl. the need of a 2d pl. where one is present in the orig.; and this after all is reproduction].

ܡܠܟܐ, y. 31, 4, 1st sg. conj. act. of ܡܠܟܐ a singular inchoative stem of ܡܠܟܐ, to wish, (which see), desiderem[-rabo] 'I will seek'; the pahl. trlr. first recognised this not so obviously evident root and form with *bavī-hānam*; Ner. *abhīpsāmāh* (freely 1st pl.); pers. *khvāham*; see on ܡܠܟܐ (ܡܠܟܐ) where the pahl. trlr. so elaborately distinguishes between the same forms as they arise from ܡܠܟܐ and from ܡܠܟܐ; the syll. ܡܠܟܐ = ind. *ccha* = orig. *sko*, in ohg., *eiscōn*, etc. (see above), but its addition to ܡܠܟܐ here may be a case of primeval usage; (in ܡܠܟܐ = ind. *iccha* the root would be reduced, or absorbed, orig. ܡܠܟܐ, only remaining).

ܡܠܟܐ (so J.* with others), y. 50, 2, 3d sg. opt. act. inchoat. stem ܡܠܟܐ of ܡܠܟܐ 'to wish' (which see) 'might he desire', 'seek for'; the pahl. trlr. once again shows error as to a most simple form often rendered by him correctly elsewhere; he reports an opinion that a 1st pers. is present here; possibly reading ܡܠܟܐ + ܡܠܟܐ 'how shall I verily seek after the cow'; Ner. also translates him *samihe*, so reporting a similar pahl. text.

𐭥𐭭𐭮𐭭- (𐭥𐭭𐭮𐭭), y. 44, 2, 3d sg. conj. from the stem 𐭥𐭭𐭮𐭭 of 𐭥𐭭 = 'to wish' (which see), cupiverit; so the pahl. trlr. with a 3d sg. *bavīhānēd*, etc.

𐭥𐭭𐭮𐭭𐭮𐭭, y. 45, 7, 3d pl. conj. act. from the stem 𐭥𐭭𐭮𐭭 of 𐭥𐭭 (which see), desiderent (petant), the pahl. trlr. reproducing the root, but failing to reproduce the full termination, renders as a 1st pers.; this error was in all probability owing to the term. 𐭥𐭭𐭮𐭭- being (as often in other cases) separated in some Ms. from the form 𐭥𐭭𐭮𐭭 (so); for he reproduces the third pl. correctly elsewhere many scores of times; see even the next line; it is obvious that some accidental reason at least existed for his rendering in the first person; the parsipers. reports the same erroneous text, as does also Ner. ('look' = 'seek*').

𐭥𐭭𐭮𐭭𐭮𐭭, y. 46, 9, 3d pl. pres. indic. of 1st 𐭥𐭭 (or 2d 𐭥𐭭) which see; petunt, or incitant; notice that the pahl. trlr. again stumbles at this simple form which he renders elsewhere and in similar occurrences correctly at every turn. Here one of the causes of his blunder must have been the follow-

ing word suggesting a form in the first person. Or it is very possible that our present texts of the early translators have become corrupt; so that we should explain *bavīhānam* as *bavīhān-am*, this being the debris of a *bavīhānend am* (-end is expressed by 𐭥𐭭, signs easily lost). Ner. and the pers. follow his mistake as to form, but report the root as from the first 𐭥𐭭 in which they may well be right.

𐭥𐭭𐭮𐭭𐭮𐭭, part. pres. of 𐭥𐭭, to come seeking, closely related however to 𐭥𐭭 'to seek' (which see); nom., voc. pl. m. 𐭥𐭭𐭮𐭭𐭮𐭭, y. 30, 1, venientes; acc. pl. m. 𐭥𐭭𐭮𐭭𐭮𐭭, y. 47, 6, cum-desiderio-venientes, coming to seek; the pahl. trlr. first recognised this general sense at y. 30, 1, being intelligently free as to form, while at y. 47, 6 he varies his concept; notice his admirable rendering of the pres. part. by the 3d pl. indic. (with *amat*) *nikātrēnd*; Ner. not being in any degree disturbed by this feature, reproduces the more literal pres. part. with *paçyatah* ('look' = 'seek*' (?)).

[𐭥𐭭𐭮𐭭 (+ 𐭥𐭭) an interesting conjecture at y. 28, 4 (suggested by pupils of Roth). I rendered by optare, 'I learn* (or 'teach') to wish for asha', the form in the texts

being **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥** which however in the texts (on the whole) I prefer as a loc. of the noun; see the places in the Gāthas.]

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, f. prayer for forgiveness (with confession of moral indebtedness (so)); prex confessionis; acc. s. **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥**, y. 34, 15; precem confessionis;

n. pl. **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥** lat. av.

acc. pl. **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥**, 31, 14, debita, debts, prayers expressing acknowledgment of debt, obligation, or guilt; at y. 31, 14 pahl. *avām*; Ner. *rnam*, and; pers. *karz*; at y. 34, 15; pahl. *avām*; pers. *avām*; Ner. *rnam*. The pahl. trlr. was our sole source of correct exegesis in this unusual and difficult definition here; in ignorance of his suggestion we should have been still following the original etymological*¹ meaning which remained undisturbed in the indian; cp. *ishudhyā* (*ishu* + *dhi* to *dha*) 'to set the arrow'; the usual comparison with *lōs* still holds; old pers. *icu* has been suggested.

[The gāthic sense has (as so often in the same way analogously in the extended indian literature) produced almost an inversion in the ultimate meaning. May not an

*¹ this is one more case to show how foolishly ignorant the remark is that the pahl. trlr. always etymologises.

addition of ideas account for other curious usages, as for instance **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥**, y. 30, 3 'they two caused to be heard' (so possibly cp. the pahl. *srūdan*, 'to declare') instead of 'they two heard'(?); cp. the contrary case of **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥** (an exact inversion) 'to roar' in indian, 'to hear' in iranian, i. e. 'to have a sound in the ear'].

[**𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥**, m. arrow (does not occur in the gāthas);

n. s. **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥** lat. av.

n. pl. **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥** " "

" " **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥** " "

" " **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥** " "

acc. pl. **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥** " "

gen. pl. **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥**; " "

cp. ind. *ishu*; old pers. *icu* (? so)].

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 (or **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥** (?)), to pray for forgiveness, owning one's self to be a debtor or guilty;

stem **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥**,

1st pl. pres. or conj. **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥**;

the pahl. trlr. continues to attest to the new sense at y. 13, 6; 36, 4; 38, 4; cp. ind. *ishudhyati*, -yasi; still in the old etymological sense *ishudhyāvas*.

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 (better **𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥**), to be desired, optandus; part. fut. pass.

to wish (which see; some forms possibly to 2^d 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀);

n. s. m. 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 lat. av.

acc. s. m. 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 (= 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀; 𐬀

is old pahl.-avesta 𐬀 = 𐬀 with inherent *a*; as so often. (𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 is here

a totally false decipherment of the zend-pahl. alphabet); acc. pl. m.

𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 (better 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀),

y. 32, 16, optandas (or to 2^d 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀

emittendas); acc. s. f. 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀

for 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀; the pahl. trlr. while reporting the somewhat obvious root seems to fail in rendering the fut. pass. form.

𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 (for 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀) part.

pres. of 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀, 1st 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀;

n. s. m. 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 (written

𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀), y. 50, 9, seeking,

petens; the pahl. trl., with admirable freedom *pavan khaahishn*; Ner. also most intelligently with a free form in the first sg. *yat abhilâshayâmi* which could not be improved upon as a free rendering.

𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 (so, for 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀),

y. 48, 8, 1st sg. conj. act of 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀

to wish (which see), quaeram, may I seek; the pahl. trlr. reporting the root, is free with a nominal form; his oversight in not adding the *am* as usual (which would have made his rendering complete), is at once supplemented by Ner. who expresses the 1st pers. in *samihe*; see pers.

𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 (so for 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀),

y. 32, 16; acc. pl. m. of 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀

fut. pass. part. of 2^d or 1st (?) 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀

(which see), to be sent forth, emit-tendas, or possibly (?) 'to be desired', optandas; the pahl. trlr. preferred the latter, so indicating with *khvâstar*; *îpsayitâ*; pers. *khvâstar*; erroneous as to form.

𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 (so for 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀),

y. 50, 9, see 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀.

𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 (𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀), y. 51, 17,

acc. s. fem. of 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 (which see)

desiderabilem, optandam; so the pahl. admirably recognising (as I think) the form again with *pavan khaahishn*. *Khaahishn* (or *khvâhishn*) is itself a fut. pass. part. (forms in *-ishn* being also used as infinitives); see *khvâhishn* = 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀

(𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀) at y. 53, 1 (Sp.).

د

د, acc. du. nt.; n., acc. pl. nt. of د (which see); the pahl. trlr. first recognised a dual form; cp. y. 34, 2, *zak i kolā II (dō)*; so Ner. *tud dōitayām*; pers. *har dā*; in y. 29, 7 correctly but with an oblique case freely, or erroneously (*pavan* however at times means simply 'as'); so Ner. understood rendering simply *dōitayām*; in y. 31, 22, where no dual exists, none is reported, a simple *ash* = (pers. *u*), being used; Ner. erring with an oblique case, *tena d.*; so in y. 49, 6, no dual exists, and none is reported, *denman*, Ner. *idryām*; but a dual is, I think, erroneously reported at y. 44, 2; so Ner. *tasmin dōitaye*; so also at y. 53, 5, *zak i kolā II (dō)* (erroneous (?) text); so Ner. *ubhayor*; while at y. 53, 6, a dual is well possible 'the two things', 'the two sides of the question', goodness or wickedness; *zāk i kolā II (dō)*; Ner. *dwayam*.

د, y. 28, 8; 43, 10; 44, 19, 20; 45, 8; 46, 2; acc. sg. nt. of د (which see, it, id, verily, vere; د in the later av.), sometimes, but by no means always, as a particle of emphasis; where the usage is strictly pronominal it shows a priority in this respect to the ind.

where its use as a particle has alone (?) survived; the pahl. trlr. first recognised the use as a particle at y. 28, 8 with *adñō*; Ner. *talas (tato)*; pers. *agar* = a pahl. *agīn* (sic (traditional translit.)); elsewhere *zak i valman*, *valman*, *denman*; Ner. *idām*, *etat(d)*; pers. *ā*, *īn*, etc.

د, acc. s. m. of د him, eum; so first recognised by the pahl. trlr., y. 30, 9; 44, 19; 45, 4; 45, 11; 46, 5; 51, 12, (c) with *denman*, y. 44, 11 with *valman*, *zak*; Ner. with *iyām*, *enām*, *idām*, etc.; pers. with *īn*; at y. 46, 8, pahl. *denman*, Ner., with a fem. *enām* (so corr., if to

د (d) (d)); د acc. s. f. of د, y. 45, 3(d); so first correctly recognised as a fem. by Ner. with *iyām* (but incorrect as to case); y. 45, 1, acc. s. f., pahl. *denman*; Ner. *idām* (so), pers. *īn*; (cp. ind. *īm* surviving as an indeclinable in the RV.); the vigorous use of the word in the gāthas shows priority in this particular). [د when = د shows د as the av.-pahl. د with sign of lengthening, the first short د being absorbed; old av.-pahl. د = y = د; the word د is not *īm* here, but *iyem*, or *iyām*].

اُ, to stir, drive, rout, possibly 'advance to attack', aggredi, fundire;

stem اُ

3d s. imper. اُ, y. 53, 8,

1st s. pres. med. اُ; (- + اُ);

stem اُ? (but cp. اُ, اُ);

3d s. pres. اُ that is اُ; a mark ا has disappeared from ا in ا; 2d s. imper. ا (that is ا(?), ا = old

avest-pahl. ا = y (with inherent ا = ya). Or this may be to the stems ا, or ا, see above; the infin. ا, may possibly be referable to this root; part. pres. ا; acc. s. m. ا; (that is ا) (or to ا, ا);

so also the inf. ا may be referable here; cp. ind. ا, ا, ا; caus. ا; for etym. see the related ا, ا (cp. st. ا to ar).

ا, y. 53, 8, let him attack, or stir (by assault), 'let him rout, aggreditor, fundito; the pahl. trl. is often of most value (in a critical sense) when least accurate as a general translation; and here as

elsewhere, although in a state of débris, it probably preserves the root in the *yāmānd* apparently added to line c; but his *aštēnd* (aside from its foolish and later gloss *min mozd* 'from the reward' (which the pers. trlr. wisely would not reproduce)) is excellent, for the general sense 'fall upon', 'attack', but does not reproduce a sg.; so Ner. with *patanti*, while the parsi-pers. has a sg. *uftad*; the pahl. trlr. however, while rendering the 2d sg. and pl. imper. often, generally, from some especial reason fails to see a 3d sg. imper. in the *gāthas*.

ا, y. 30, 6; 31, 18; 32, 13; 44, 14; 46, 12; 51, 14; 53, 8, 9; acc. pl. m. of ا (which see), those, eos; pahl. *valmanshān*, etc., Ner. with forms of *tat(d)*, *etat(d)*, etc.; pers. *ōshān* (so), etc.

ا, y. 46, 16, loc. sg. f. of ا, (or acc. pl. nt. of ا), 'in the possession of V. M.', (or 'the wished-for (realms) of V. M.'): the pahl. trlr., although more frequently reporting ا 'to possess' as the orig. of similar forms elsewhere, here preserves the opinion which favoured ا = 'to wish'; see on ا.

Here at y. 46, 16, departing from his more frequent usage, he refers this form to the 1st 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 with *khvāstō*; Ner. *samāḡlishtal*; pers. *khvāst*; so also 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 (read 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎), y. 49, 12, also loc. s. f. of 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎, to 𐬵𐬀.

[Here a delicate question is settled by the parsi-pers. trlr. The pahl. renders by *isht* which might be regarded by some as a mere transliteration, as indeed are very many of the translations in one entire Ms. viz in D. (Pt. 4); and Ner. seems to suggest a most interesting idea; viz. that 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 is here the part. pass. of 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎, see *ārādhānām*; as to which, if we cannot follow him just here in his suggestion, we may perhaps adopt elsewhere this view of 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎. Here he seems to have been misled by some false text (perhaps at 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎) which gave him an impression which would harmonise with *ārādhayati* for *isht*; notice also in passing his radical differences from the pahl. trlr. and judge of the capacity of those who suppose Ner. to be his 'echo'. But the parsi-pers. trlr. understood *isht* distinctly as a form of 𐬵𐬀; see *khezānah*].

𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 (see 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎).

𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 (so, read 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎),

so reading, y. 44, 10, irreg. as a nom. pl. f. (cp. the ved. nom. *bhūmīs* (Whit. n. pl. f.) = 'wishes'; prayers, optationes, preces; subject to 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎). [Or read 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 sg. for pl. (the total absence of all irregularities would be itself unusual and highly suspicious); 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 of course might be acc.; I praying (𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 part. pres. n. s. m (?); so the pahl. as to form *khūrsand hōmanam*) to Thee, the prayers of mine understanding (ask Thee this). But perhaps I should have followed the pahl. trl. which refers the word to 𐬵𐬀; see the parsi-pers. *khezānah*; Ner. *lakshmīm*; and referring 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 to 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎) 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 I might have (possibly) rendered '(Thy religion) which causes my settlements to flourish through, or 'in', hallowed sanctity (𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎) which goes on hand in hand with it; may it render all deeds-and-rites correct through the hymns of Āramaiti, my wisdom; I ask Thee thus, praying for Thy possessions'].

[𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 (so alternatively only)

wishing, praying; beseeching; n. s. m. 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 (l. 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎), y. 50, 4, preceptor; -*isha* in ind. is only final; cp. *gavishās*, etc.; but cp.

